REPORT RESUMES

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JACKSON COUNTY REVISITED, A CASE STUDY IN THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

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THIS DOCUMENT IS A SEQUEL TO "THE JACKSON COUNTY STORY, A CASE STUDY," (ED 011 569) WHICH DESCRIBED THE IMPACT ON A LARGE SUBURBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT OF COMMUNITY CONFLICT WHICH ROSE OVER BOTH EDUCATIONAL AND NON-EDUCATIONAL ISSUES. THE FIRST STUDY ENDED AFTER THE 1962 ELECTIONS IN WHICH A MAJORITY OF CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES WAS ELECTED TO THE SCHOOL BOARD. THIS SEQUEL DOCUMENT COVERS THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE 1962 AND THE 1966 ELECTIONS. IN 1963, FACED WITH A SCHOOL BOARD WHOSE MAJORITY WAS HOSTILE TO HIM AND TO MANY OF HIS PROGRAMS, THE SUPERINTENDENT RESIGNED. UNDER THE NEW SUPERINTENDENT WHO ALIGNED HIMSELF WITH NEITHER FACTION OF THE SCHOOL BOARD, CONTROVERSY SUBSIDED FOR A TIME. BEFORE THE 1964 ELECTIONS, MAJOR ISSUES CAME BEFORE THE BOARD WHICH SPLIT THE FACTIONS AND THE COMMUNITY INTO LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE CAMPS. IN 1964 AND IN 1966, THE LIBERAL COMMITTEE FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS (CPS) WAGED UNIFIED, ORGANIZED CAMPAIGNS FOR ITS CANDIDATES AGAINST THE CONSERVATIVE COUNCIL FOR BETTER EDUCATION. THE TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED BY CPS IN ITS SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS TO CAPTURE A MAJORITY OF THE SCHOOL BOARD POSITIONS ARE DESCRIBED, AND THE EFFECTS OF THE COMMUNITY CONFLICT UPON THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE COUNTY'S SCHOOLS ARE DISCUSSED. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FOR $2.00 FROM PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT, CENTER FOR THE ADVANCED STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, HENDRICKS HALL, UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE, OREGON 97403. (HM)

ED 018 000

Jackson County Revisited

Keith Goldhammer

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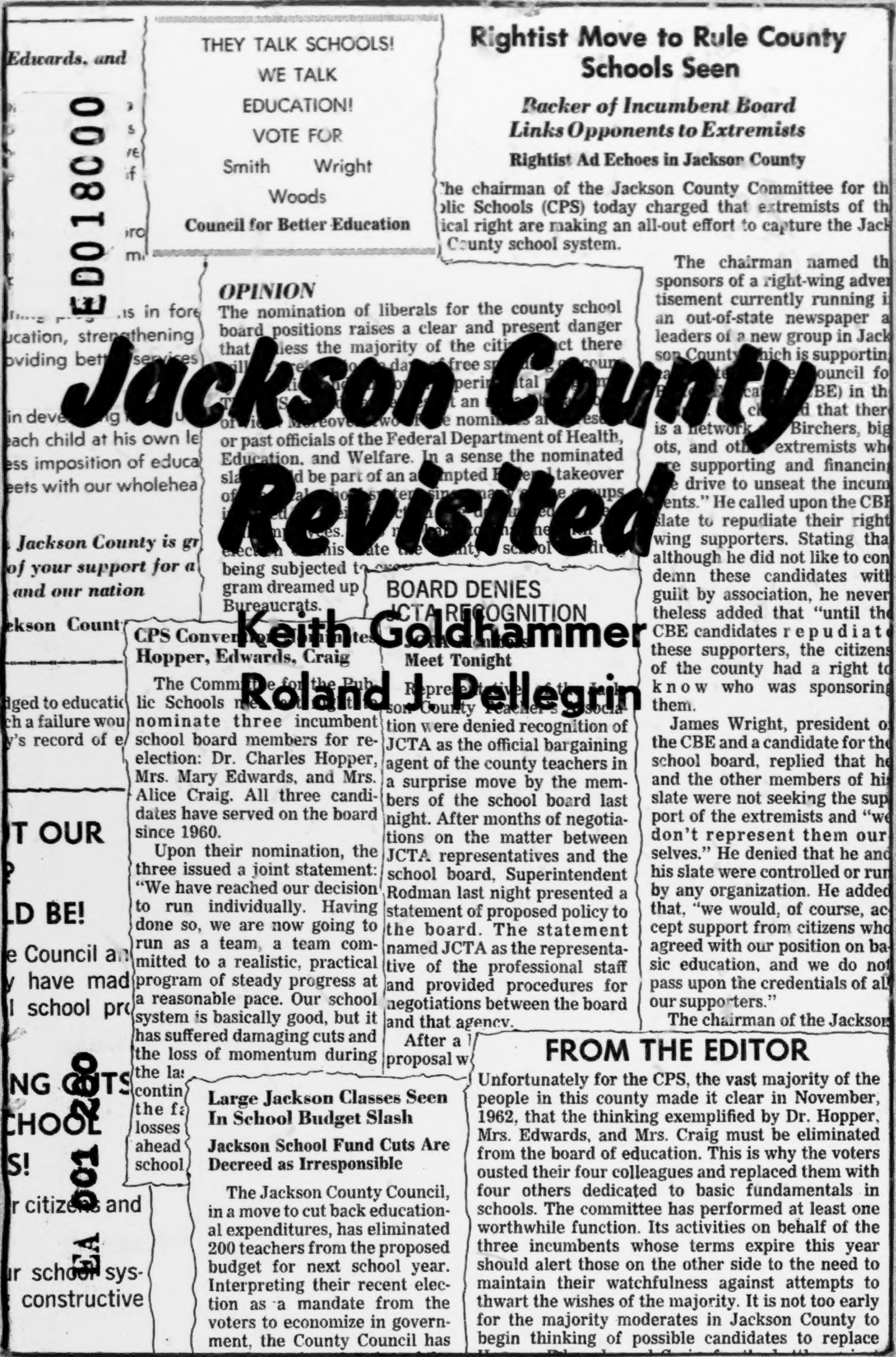

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VOTE FOR
Smith Wright
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Council for Better Education

Rightist Move to Rule County Schools Seen

Backer of Incumbent Board Links Opponents to Extremists

Rightist Ad Echoes in Jackson County

…he chairman of the Jackson County Committee for th… …lic Schools (CPS) today charged that extremists of th… …ical right are making an all-out effort to capture the Jack… County school system.

The chairman named th… sponsors of a right-wing adver… tisement currently running i… an out-of-state newspaper a… leaders of a new group in Jack… son County which is supportin… …ouncil fo… …BE) in th… …d that ther… is a network … Birchers, big… ots, and oth… extremists wh… …e supporting and financin… …e drive to unseat the incum… …ents." He called upon the CB… slate to repudiate their right… wing supporters. Stating tha… although he did not like to con… demn these candidates wit… guilt by association, he never… theless added that "until th… CBE candidates repudiat… these supporters, the citizens of the county had a right t… know who was sponsorin… them.

James Wright, president o… the CBE and a candidate for th… school board, replied that h… and the other members of hi… slate were not seeking the sup… port of the extremists and "w… don't represent them our… selves." He denied that he an… his slate were controlled or ru… by any organization. He adde… that, "we would, of course, ac… cept support from citizens wh… agreed with our position on ba… sic education, and we do no… pass upon the credentials of al… our supporters."

The chairman of the Jackso…

OPINION

The nomination of liberals for the county school board positions raises a clear and present danger that …less the majority of the citi… …ct there …free sp… …erim…tal… …an… …nomi… …or past officials of the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In a sense the nominated sla… …d be part of an a…mpted F… …takeover… …es. …ate… …school… being subjected t… gram dreamed up Bureaucrats.

CPS Conven… Hopper, Edwards, Craig

The Committee for the Public Schools … nominate three incumbent school board members for reelection: Dr. Charles Hopper, Mrs. Mary Edwards, and Mrs. Alice Craig. All three candidates have served on the board since 1960.

Upon their nomination, the three issued a joint statement: "We have reached our decision to run individually. Having done so, we are now going to run as a team, a team committed to a realistic, practical program of steady progress at a reasonable pace. Our school system is basically good, but it has suffered damaging cuts and the loss of momentum during the la… contin… the f… losses… ahead… school…

BOARD DENIES JCTA RECOGNITION

… Meet Tonight

Repre… …son County Teacher's Association were denied recognition of JCTA as the official bargaining agent of the county teachers in a surprise move by the members of the school board last night. After months of negotiations on the matter between JCTA representatives and the school board, Superintendent Rodman last night presented a statement of proposed policy to the board. The statement named JCTA as the representative of the professional staff and provided procedures for negotiations between the board and that agency.

After a … proposal w…

Large Jackson Classes Seen In School Budget Slash

Jackson School Fund Cuts Are Decreed as Irresponsible

The Jackson County Council, in a move to cut back educational expenditures, has eliminated 200 teachers from the proposed budget for next school year. Interpreting their recent election as a mandate from the voters to economize in government, the County Council has

FROM THE EDITOR

Unfortunately for the CPS, the vast majority of the people in this county made it clear in November, 1962, that the thinking exemplified by Dr. Hopper, Mrs. Edwards, and Mrs. Craig must be eliminated from the board of education. This is why the voters ousted their four colleagues and replaced them with four others dedicated to basic fundamentals in schools. The committee has performed at least one worthwhile function. Its activities on behalf of the three incumbents whose terms expire this year should alert those on the other side to the need to maintain their watchfulness against attempts to thwart the wishes of the majority. It is not too early for the majority moderates in Jackson County to begin thinking of possible candidates to replace

EA 001 280

Keith Goldhammer
Roland J. Pellegrin

University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
1968

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Foreword

This case study is a sequel to *The Jackson County Story, A Case Study* by Keith Goldhammer and Frank Farner, published in 1964 by the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration. The original report was an analysis of community conflict as it affected the operation of the schools in "Jackson County" during a period of rapid population growth following World War II up through the elections of 1962. The present study takes the analysis through the elections of 1964 and 1966, focusing on complex community issues as they related to political affairs affecting school district operations.

We have attempted in both studies to maintain the anonymity of the community and of its citizens. To those residents of Jackson County who assisted us during the collection of the data and the writing of the two reports, we express our deepest appreciation. Their cooperation has facilitated the efforts of the authors through every phase of the work.

The editorial and production assistance of Joanne Kitchel, Editor of the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, is gratefully acknowledged. We are also reminded of our many intellectual debts to our colleagues in the Center and to our associates in the U. S. Office of Education who have helped to give guidance to our efforts.

KEITH GOLDHAMMER
ROLAND J. PELLEGRIN

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
January, 1968

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Prologue

This monograph is a sequel to *The Jackson County Story*.[1] The first study analyzed the events in Jackson County leading up to and following the school board election in 1962. It focused upon some of the problems which arose as a result of the administrative style of the superintendent of schools, Dr. Trent Walters, and upon the reactions of the community and staff to the strategies he employed in the introduction of program changes in the schools. Walters' problems were caused only in part by his administrative behavior. To a considerable extent, he and his policies became a focal point of criticism because of various social tensions that had been building up for some time within the county and which came into sharp focus as a result of the activities of a potent political force which sought to gain power in the 1962 general and school board elections.

Jackson County is a large suburban community on the outskirts of a major metropolitan center. During the decades immediately following World War II, the section of the county immediately contiguous to the central city experienced rapid population growth and was transformed within a relatively short period of time into a densely populated, urbanized center in itself. This section of the county was known as the "down county." For the most part, the population living in this section of the county commuted to work in the central city. Many of the newcomers to the "down county" located there both because of the reputed excellence of its schools and because they wished to escape an alleged deterioration of the central city schools following a sizable migration of Negroes into the central city. Many of them were of modest means but had high educational aspirations for their children. They wanted the schools to be of such high quality that it would be easy for their children to gain admission to the prestigious universities. After moving to the down county area, they found it difficult to cope with new economic requirements imposed upon them by the high prices of housing and services, the cost of commuting to the central city each day, and a rapid increase in local property taxes accompanying the expansion of all public services made necessary by the population explosion.

In sharp contrast, the "up county" retained much of its rural and agricultural character. Its population was composed primarily of

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[1] Keith Goldhammer and Frank Farner, *The Jackson County Story, A Case Study* (University of Oregon, CASEA 1964).

"oldtimers" who tended to be conservative in their political, social and economic views, unconcerned about the "progress" of the community, undesirous of changing their ways of life in order to accommodate to the growing urbanization of the county, and disinclined to share the burden of taxation necessitated by the rapid urbanization of the "down county" areas.

The Jackson County schools had grown rapidly during the 1950's, but many observers felt that the schools had not kept pace with program [redacted] in the better school districts of the country. Many felt it was imperative that new leadership be brought into the schools to effect major changes. A "liberal" school board was in power when Trent Walters was brought into the community as superintendent in 1957 and he received a mandate from the board to up-date the curriculum.

Jackson County was a politically divided community. The oldtimers were primarily conservative Democrats who looked with nostalgia upon the "good-old-days" of the county. Their orientation was almost exclusively to local affairs, and they looked with disfavor upon the trends taking place in the federal government and the broader society.

The newcomers tended to hold two fairly distinct political orientations. One group, composed primarily of professionals and governmental workers, was essentially liberal. The members of this group could afford adequate community services, and they wanted the best of schools and services for their children. They had chosen Jackson County as a place in which to live, but its old traditions were not meaningful to them. They were cosmopolitan in their outlook upon life and in their concerns about the community and society in general.

A second group of newcomers, as previously indicated, was less able economically to bear the burdens of living in the county. Economic pressures made many of them favor financial conservatism even though for the most part they desired high quality education in their schools.

During the period immediately preceding and following Walters' appointment as superintendent, organized conservative groups which were dissatisfied with the programs of their schools conducted intensive campaigns to stress the fundamentals of learning and to insist that the schools place greater emphasis upon teaching citizenship and patriotism. The people who became active in such organizations also tended to be fearful that the schools were excessively expensive and were dissipating the public's funds on "fads and frills."

In such a situation, the position of the superintendent of a large school district is comparable to that of a man who stands with a lighted fuse in his hand. Dr. Walters was in an analogous situation during most of his tenure in Jackson County, particularly after the 1962 school board and County Council elections. Both were heated contests between liberal and conservative candidates, and the group of conservatives fighting for control of the County Council (which established land-use zoning policies) also became involved in campaigning for conservative school board members.

In the final days of the campaign, the conservatives published a flyer which came to be known as the "CAP sheet" because it bore the name of their hastily constructed organization, the County-Above-Party. Contained in the CAP Sheet were charges that the liberal school board candidates who supported Walters had engaged in "orgiastic spending" and were indifferent to the needs of the community and the growing costs of education in the district. This publication, distributed to every household in the county, had the desired effect. The conservatives won decisively, and every candidate endorsed by CAP for both County Council and school board was elected.

The policies of Superintendent Walters were a central issue in the school board campaign. Walters had been selected by a school board that wanted to introduce some changes into the Jackson County schools. He came into office committed by his personal and professional inclinations, as well as by the charge of the school board, to up-date the Jackson County schools and to make them a "lighthouse" among the more progressive schools of the nation. Walters introduced many innovations vigorously and forthrightly. In so doing he aroused the suspicions of conservative members of his own staff. To insure that his key subordinates were dedicated to the implementation of his proposed changes, he reassigned some personnel on his staff.

A real shakeup in the schools took place during Walters' tenure, according to some informants. He challenged the "old guard" in the schools and deployed them so that they could no longer get by "by wallowing in their lethargy." Many resented what they considered to be his highhanded method of reassigning them. An informant said that for four years Walters insisted that a new approach to education was imperative and that additional community resources must be secured for the development of a more effective school system. The result was that he "frightened the hell out of both the public and the professional staff." The stage was set for an aggressive campaign promising better education for less money and an end to the expensive experimentation which produced so much insecurity.

Many teachers and administrators felt that the proposed educational innovations were actually inadvisable or that they could not make the adjustments demanded by Walters' new programs. Moreover, some groups within the community felt that the proposals of the superintendent were "too progressive" and involved experimentation which might jeopardize the "true" educational purposes of the schools.

As taxes increased, the superintendent and his program of innovation were ready targets for those who were in any way dissatisfied with the schools. In 1962, the challengers for the school board seats readily saw that it would not be difficult to obtain votes by accusing the incumbent members of being rubber stamps for Walters' "profligate" administration.

The electoral system in Jackson County provides that school board members shall be elected for four-year terms. Of the seven member school board, three are elected at one time, and four are elected two years later. After the 1962 election, the seven-member school board was clearly divided between two opposing groups—the minority, who were the three incumbent supporters of Dr. Walters, and the majority, composed of the four newcomers who were very much in opposition to the superintendent. The local press labeled the holdovers as "liberals" and the newcomers as "conservatives." This designation greatly concerned the holdovers because before the newcomers assumed office the former were considered relatively conservative board members and the most critical of some current school practices.

The minority was composed of Mrs. Mary Edwards, Mrs. Alice Craig, and Dr. Charles Hopper. Mrs. Edwards, a resident of the county since about 1950, had been elected to the school board in 1960. She was a housewife, and her husband was an executive in a large publishing concern. She had two children, one in college and the other in high school. Prior to her membership on the board, she had been active in the League of Women Voters, the PTA, and the County Council's Advisory Commission on Youth.

Alice Craig was also elected to the Board of Education for the first time in 1960. She had a M.A. in economics and experience as a professional economist. Her husband, also a professional economist, was in the employ of the federal government. She, too, was active in the League of Women Voters, the PTA, and the American Association of University Women.

Charles Hopper had been a resident of the county for only three years when he was appointed to the board to fill a vacancy in the spring of 1960, and was later elected in the fall of that year to a full term. He lived in "up county." He had been a high school teacher and later was the head of a physics department in a large state university. He had also worked as a scientist in private industry and currently was employed by the federal government.

The four members of the majority were Mr. William Grant, Mr. Robert Brown, Mr. Kenneth Graham, and Mr. Raymond Crothers.

William Grant was the executive director of a board for the selection of scientific and technical personnel in a government agency. He had a baccalaureate degree from a large state university, and at the time of his election had been a resident of the county for 24 years. He was married and had four children, two of school age and two of pre-school age. He had been active in local civic associations, the PTA, and church activities.

Robert Brown was an attorney in private practice. He had acquired his law degree while working full time. He had three school-age children, and one pre-schooler. He had been a resident of the county for 12 years prior to his election and had been an employee of the county government while working on his law degree. He was active in the Jackson County Bar Association, the Kiwanis Club, and a local citizens' association.

Kenneth Graham was a public relations officer in a large investment company. At the time of his election he had been a resident of the county for 20 years. He had eight children, two grown and six of school age. He had been active in the PTA and citizens' associations, and was a member of the Metropolitan Area Board of Trade. He had completed a considerable amount of college work in various institutions.

Raymond Crothers had been a resident of the county for 15 years prior to his election. He had attended several universities and had taught in a private school in the county prior to the time that he became the sales manager for a retail electric store in the "up county." He had two grown daughters and was active in the PTA and community associations.

School board meetings following the installation of the newcomers were characterized by intense controversy between the three carryover members dedicated to maintaining Walters' program which they had helped to establish, and the four new members bent upon re-establishing programs which emphasized the fundamentals of education and economy of operations. At first, each group on the board worked as a block, and the superintendent, whose concern was directed toward salvaging his program, appeared to be aligned with the minority.

Community sentiment, particularly as expressed in the local weekly newspapers, was divided. Those who had encouraged the election of the conservative majority wanted to see a marked retrenchment in the educational program. The County Council had done its share to cut back educational expenditures and had dramatically eliminated 200 teachers from the proposed budget for the ensuing year. This action aroused fears among a large number of parents. Many of those who had voted for the conservatives were fearful that these cuts would not accomplish the objectives that they had in mind, but would instead result in hazardous lowering of the quality of education. Even the majority members of the school board, with possibly one exception, were embarrassed by the drastic action taken by the County Council.

There is some evidence that the County Council acted with the knowledge and possible accord of one of the members of the school board majority. The other three, who were uninformed about the proposed cuts, were concerned about the possibly harmful effects of the Council's action. Although they considered themselves conservative, these three majority members insisted they were not willing to accept only minimal programs at low levels of expenditure, but that their interpretation of what policies would produce quality programs was at variance with the perspectives of Walters and the minority board members. Since they were elected on the same ticket as members of the County Council, however, they felt that they could not object strongly to the action taken by their former running mates. They interpreted their election and that of the County Council as a mandate to effect certain changes and to economize in operations. As they stated at a much later date, they believed that the County Council did not show good judgment in making the cuts. Walters, of course, had no alternative but to oppose the drastic cuts and defend both his budget and his organization. Many voters who had been stampeded by the CAP sheet now felt they had been betrayed by the drastic action of the Council.

The radical action by the County Council, without significant opposition by the school board majority, aroused a group of interested citizens to form the Committee for the Public Schools (CPS). This committee was organized explicitly to engage in those political actions they considered necessary to preserve the quality of the school program, to provide watchdog supervision over the actions of the conservative majority, and to actively support future candidates for the school board whose educational philosophy and program policies were consistent with the desires of the members of the group.

Although various critic groups that wanted to return education to the fundamentals had been operating in Jackson County for many years, this was the first time that a group was organized specifically for the purpose of engaging in political action in behalf of an educational philosophy. There were other groups, to be sure, which had a strong interest in education and were considered by the educationists to be "pro" education. The PTA, the Jackson County Teachers' Association, the League of Women Voters, and the American Association of University Women—all had strong education programs. But none of these groups was organized specifically for the purpose of engaging in political activities designed to enhance and defend the program of the superintendent and the minority members of the school board. Some of the participants in the CPS were not entirely in agreement with Walters and his policies, but overwhelmingly they felt that he was an educator of competence and integrity and that his program was designed to maintain the kind of education which they desired for their children. They felt that the majority school board members were "wreckers" and that it was essential that defensive strategies be employed to protect the quality of education within the county. They were particularly offended by CAP's tactics during the election campaign and they were stirred to action by the impunity with which the County Council cut the county's school budget.[2]

The strategy employed by Walters and the carry-over members of the school board after the 1962 election was designed to arouse public sentiment against the County Council and the majority of the board for their proposed cutbacks in program. This strategy was fairly successful because now, through CPS, they could rely upon knowledgeable citizens who were not only willing to speak up in their defense but were also prepared to engage in political activities to elicit public support for their policies. This led one conservative newspaper in the community to editorialize:

> It is obvious that eleven months after the people of Jackson County decided that they wanted a change in the kind of education children were getting, the superintendent of schools and Dr. Hopper [one of the carry-over school board members] still can't

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[2] The program and activities of CPS will be described in detail in a later section.

> believe they lost. They apparently suffer from the delusion that if they can continue talking and acting as though nothing had happened, things will return to the ways prior to that awful day in November, 1962. If one is to believe what the superintendent and the bemused Charles Hopper say, the election never took place, and we are back in the days of claustrophobia, life-adjustment, experimentation, and when the board members were throwing the taxpayer's money around with the abandon of a Roman orgy. It appears that neither the superintendent nor Dr. Hopper can bear reality. For both, the solution to their painful predicament is readily at hand. They can resign. To paraphrase the great lyricist William S. Gilbert, "They never would be missed. They never would be missed."

Walters now had two years of his contract remaining. He recognized that even if the minority members were to be re-elected in 1964 there was a strong likelihood that the four members of the then incumbent majority would vote against the renewal of his contract. He realized that in the two years between elections he could do little more than fight a rear guard action to retain what he considered to be certain essential elements of his program.

As Walters pondered his fate, community forces were girding for the 1964 election. The emphasis had shifted from internal concerns about the Jackson County schools to the political efforts of diverse groups intent upon maintaining or recovering policy-making authority in education. In the events that transpired between 1963 and 1966, for reasons that will be discussed later, the focus of action shifted from the superintendent and his administrative policies to the community conflict itself.

Chapter 1

1962-1964

A New Superintendent

> ***When the king dies, attention is quickly shifted away from him and focused upon his successor. Who would be the new superintendent of the Jackson County schools?***

One year after the 1962 election, the superintendent had increasingly become an object of hostility for those who supported the policies of the newcomers on the school board. Walters had attempted to develop harmonious relationships among the members of the board during that year, but the majority usually rebuffed his overtures and made him the target of their attacks. Although routine matters were hurdled without conflict, most policy issues that came before the board were settled by a four to three vote, with the minority voting in favor of the superintendent's recommendations and the majority in opposition.

Board meetings were characterized by heckling from both sides and hostile cross-examination of the superintendent by the members of the majority. The first key issue with which he had to deal was that of the budgetary cutbacks. He had been ordered to propose cuts in his original estimates, which he did under protest while attempting to salvage as much of his program as possible. By the vote of the majority of the board and the action of the Council his budget was curtailed.

Walters Resigns

During the first year in office the majority members were successful in cutting out various aspects of Walters' programs and instituting some programs with which the superintendent and the minority members did not concur. Foreign language instruction in the elementary school was eliminated. The number of counselors in the junior and senior high schools was decreased. New buildings were, in some instances, delayed. Experimental innovations in programs were restricted. Criticisms were made of the non-graded elementary school programs which Walters had initiated. Majority members of the board insisted that "look and say" reading techniques be abandoned for a controversial phonetics approach known locally as "the phonovisual method." Walters was required to institute an Amidon-type program (which will be discussed in a later section) in several schools in spite of protest by a large segment of the professional staff.

After a year of controversy and division on the board, it was reported in the press that Superintendent Walters had publicly been asked to resign by Mr. Robert Brown, one of the members of the majority. A newspaper stated that his resignation was discussed in an executive session of the school board but that no action was taken. Mr. Brown stated that he was speaking as an individual and not for the other members of the board. He described the superintendent's views as "basically incompatible" with those of the majority board members. Brown also indicated to the press that he was considering submitting to the board a resolution seeking Dr. Walters' discharge. Mr. Kenneth Graham, chairman of the board in 1963 and also a majority member, said he would not support any resolution requesting Walters' resignation. He said he expected to work with Walters during the coming year and that this would afford him an opportunity to make an objective evaluation before the renewal of the superintendent's contract came before the board. He pointed out that under state law, local school board members could recommend the removal of the superintendent, but that he could be dismissed only by the State Board of Education for reasons that he was "immoral, incompetent, or woefully neglectful of his duty." None of these charges could validly be made against Walters, and the minority members of the board maintained their staunch support of the superintendent.

The response of the CPS to rumors of Walters' imminent dismissal was that the president of the group, after meeting with his executive committee, publicly announced that Walters' resignation would be an unmitigated disaster for the school system. He said that Walters' leaving would soon be followed by the departure of many of the best teachers and it would become impossible to induce a qualified superintendent to come to Jackson County. He said this attack upon Walters had brought out into the open an undercover campaign which a few people had been conducting for some time. He urged interested citizens to write personal letters to the school board chairman in support of the superintendent, defending his leadership and expressing confidence in his administration.

In March, 1964, Walters was offered a position as superintendent of a larger school district. With some reluctance he accepted the offer and presented his resignation to the board. The president of the CPS immediately announced that this was a grave blow to the Jackson County schools and that it put a tremendous pressure upon the school board to find a worthy successor. He pointed out that the majority members of the school board would be held accountable by county parents for finding an administrator capable of carrying on the tradition of excellence established in the Jackson County schools by Walters.

Walters' supporters held a farewell reception in his behalf. One of newspapers indicated that:

> More than 400 persons stood in line between 3:00 and 6:00 p.m. They sometimes stretched around the building in order to shake hands with Dr. Walters, who in a few weeks leaves the county to take over the superintendency of another school system.

One of the minority members of the school board said, "We have advanced greatly under his guidance, and we'll miss his leadership and statesman-like qualities. He has been good for Jackson County." Another added, "He goes to another school system with my warmest regards. Their great gain is our county's loss." The majority member who requested his resignation said:

> It was inevitable that he would leave. It is no secret that we didn't agree educationally, but I wish him the best of luck. There never has been anything personal between us. He is a very likeable guy.

A newspaper which had been consistently favorable to Walters' administration stated:

> The county this week says goodbye to Dr. Trent Walters, who has capably guided the public schools here for seven years. Any man in such a job coping with the widely divergent viewpoints that exist in public education is bound to have his detractors. Dr. Walters, of course, had his. But his supporters far outnumber his detractors. Yet, in a very real sense, we believe his detractors, though small in number, are probably largely responsible for his departure. They have now achieved their goal, we fear, as a result of public apathy. Meanwhile, we are sure that the vast majority

> of county parents join us in wishing Dr. Walters well in his new job, and we say to his new community, "Your gain is our loss."

Another newspaper which had been one of his consistent critics editorialized in a different vein:

> We were delighted when news broke that Dr. Trent Walters had accepted the job as superintendent of schools in __________. We wish him well. We also wish that he could have left our fair county without so much advice. Dr. Walters has issued at great expense something called "Seven Challenging Years." Dr. Walters is trying to justify his seven wasteful years in this county. His has been seven years of self-aggrandizement, seven years of puffed up propaganda, seven years of waste, and seven years of building an empire of amazing proportions. Dr. Walters has done precious little to raise the level of learning. He has never realized the tremendous educational potential among gifted children in our county. Everything has been slanted toward mediocrity-average. Trent Walters is a large, strong man. He has left his imprints in Jackson County. His band of loyal followers are sad. We aren't.

Another newspaper reported that Walters' extensive "dining" on the occasion of his leaving indicated that he had a large number of friends in the county who wished him well. The newspaper further stated that Walters, when making his parting remarks at these farewell functions, expressed no animosity toward individuals or conditions which occasioned his resignation and prevented the accomplishment of all his plans and aspirations. In his letter of resignation to the board, Walters stated that he had had a most interesting and enjoyable tenure in Jackson County. He expressed his appreciation to all the employees of the board of education who had made it possible for him to face the challenges of the school system, and he expressed hope that the county would realize its tremendous potential for the excellent education of its youth.

Selecting a Successor

When the king dies, attention is quickly shifted away from him and focused on his successor. Who would be the new superintendent of the Jackson County schools? Immediately upon Walters' resignation, the school board nominated the deputy superintendent, Dr. James Rodman, to be acting superintendent until a replacement could be found. The board announced that it might take up to six months to screen candidates before finding a replacement, and in the meantime, Dr. Rodman would be expected to maintain the operations of the schools. Dr. Rodman indicated that he would follow, insofar as possible, a strong and purposeful administrative course during the interim period but said he did not think this was the time for significant change in the county's educational program. He stated, "I won't suggest a new program during the time I am acting superintendent."

The scars left by the bitter controversy were very deep. Almost immediately various community groups expressed opinions as to what they considered desirable qualifications for a new superintendent. Before the ink was completely dry on Walters' resignation, one newspaper editorialized that the school board now had a "once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to appoint a superintendent who believes in the true meaning of education as the instruction of the intellect." The editorial pointed to examples of cities where the superintendents expressed interest in a program of basic education and directed their efforts toward the improvement of the quality of learning through higher standards, increased emphasis upon fundamentals, and reinforcement of the teacher as the dominant figure in the classroom. The editorial called upon the school board to scrutinize the qualifications of one superintendent of a large school system who had become nationally prominent because of his emphasis upon "fundamentals" and his espousal of the cause of "basic education." The editorial stated:

> With an end in sight at long last to Walters' ruinous reign, the board of education should launch an immediate and intensive search for an authentic educator dedicated to the belief that the road to learning is hard but the rewards infinitely great. Whether Dr. ________ can be persuaded to become a candidate is uncertain, in view of the recent approval by school authorities of an extension of his contract. But it is certain he is the kind of superintendent Jackson County needs.
>
> It is worthy to note that at least three of the Jackson County board members have declared a strong interest in appointing such a superintendent. Also mentioned has been Dr. Max Rafferty, California State Superintendent of Schools, who has made no secret of his distaste for the whole child, life adjustment theory of education.
>
> Three other board members who have never abandoned their loyalty to the outmoded Dewey-Counts progressive education theory of the 1920's have spoken in gobbledegook generalities of

what they want in a superintendent. They probably would embrace a replica of the departing administrative head.

The board chairman for some reason known only to himself has hedged on (1) whether to seek a new superintendent as quickly as possible and (2) what kind of educational thinking the superintendent should possess. This non-committal attitude is strange indeed in a man elected with three others on a platform pledging to work for a return to emphasis upon basic fundamentals in education. Mention has been made of the possibility of appointing the deputy superintendent as a stopgap, pending a more leisurely quest for a successor. This approach to the vitally important need for a superintendent is not only nonsensical but dangerous.

The CPS was more reserved in its recommendations to the board. The president indicated that he believed the parents of Jackson County would not tolerate the board's appointing less than the best possible candidate to the superintendency. He suggested that the board emulate other large city school districts, which had employed consultants from a university to screen candidates for the superintendency. Such consultants, he indicated, would be able to recommend, from a disinterested professional point of view, those candidates most adequately prepared to give leadership to the school system. The president of CPS did not suggest what the qualifications for the superintendency should be, but merely suggested the process through which, in his judgment, the selection could be most effectively accomplished.

Another newspaper forecast that the conservative majority of the school board would be highly tempted to find a superintendent who best reflected its own philosophy of education. The writer pointed out, however, that this might not be in the best interest of the schools of the county inasmuch as a superintendent selected to please only those in control of the philosophically divided board would survive little longer than the board majority itself. The editor felt that a superintendent should be in a position to be "more permanently interested in our school children than that." He cautioned the majority to exercise restraint upon its own desires in order to find someone "who has a reasonably good chance of being well received by the vast majority of people, including members of the school board." He expressed hope that there existed in the field of education superior administrators capable of carrying out the present school board policies as well as future ones. The editorial concluded:

> If the present school board can come up with a permanently well received superintendent, it will have performed a great service to the county. On the other hand, if the board selects someone who is the center of controversy, he will not be able to center his attention on the education of our young, a truly vital mission.

In the midst of public interest in the selection of the new superintendent, the school board had been summoned by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to a meeting in the state capital to discuss procedures for obtaining a new superintendent. Speculation ran high as to what the state superintendent would suggest to the board. However, those present indicated that the meeting was called only to acquaint the board members with legal procedures and to offer the services of the state superintendent's office in assisting them to screen candidates.

The state superintendent pointed out that although the law normally required a new superintendent to be employed by July 1, in view of certain extenuating circumstances, he was exercising his authority to extend the screening period until January 1, 1965. At the board's request the State Department of Education submitted a list of potential candidates, and further lists were obtained from some of the leading universities in the country.

As the board proceeded slowly and without publicity to seek a candidate, some of the supporters of the conservative majority became concerned lest the majority follow the advice of those who were cautioning moderation. One newspaper warned the majority that since they were elected on the same platform at the same time, they must continue to act together. The paper stated:

> The three board holdovers, whose terms expire in November, can be expected to continue their obstructionist tactics. It is essential, therefore, that the four majority members unite in a determined and successful search for a superintendent who values true learning above social adjustment.

The board held frequent meetings during this time to discuss procedures. Early in the discussions, there was almost unanimous agreement about the general criteria to be employed in selecting the new superintendent. It was reported authoritatively that the criteria were based upon professional standards and did not involve questions related to liberalism or conservatism in educational philosophy.

Several candidates were considered, but without much enthusiasm. There is no evidence that any "outsiders" were called in for interviews, or that the board held interviews with any local candidates. Some board members did make personal contacts, but they were reluctant to identify the names or discuss the reactions of those whom they contacted.

At the same time, there was local professional and public interest in the possibility of Dr. Rodman's becoming the permanent successor to Dr. Walters. It was reported that a group of principals, at a meeting with the chairman of the school board, indicated that the morale of school personnel had been adversely affected by the events since the election in November, 1962. They believed the school system needed a moderate, stabilizing force at its head who would consolidate gains, select those programs which were worthy of continuation while eliminating the questionable ones, and attempt to build a strong school system based upon accepted educational principles. The principals pointed out that Dr. Rodman had the complete confidence of the administrative staff, and suggested that he possessed the kind of leadership ability to consolidate the gains made by the school system, and, at the same time, improve staff morale and community relations.

The press reported that Rodman's name was on the list of candidates submitted by the State Department of Education. One newspaper editorialized that the conservative board members might object to Rodman's appointment on the grounds that he had been "Walters' boy." It noted that conservatives felt the voters' mandate in 1962 called for a new person who would provide a fresh look at education in the county, and that Rodman could well inherit all the criticisms of persons who had been dissatisfied with Walters' policies. Also, the conservatives might like an executive who was more in accord with their own views on such matters as ungraded elementary schools, extension of the basic education program, and continuation of class room experimentation. The editorial further stated that the liberals were maintaining that Rodman's experience and knowledge of the school system and his general capability qualified him for the superintendent's position. The newspaper noted that if a vote were taken at the particular time, only two might vote against him.

There were some individuals who felt that this editorial was a probe planted by the chairman of the board to determine if the suggestion of Dr. Rodman's appointment would arouse controversy in either the community or the school system. None was forthcoming.

A few days later, Chairman Graham was asked to comment on a report that the school board was having great difficulty in reaching consensus on the criteria for selecting the superintendent. He stated emphatically that there is "more harmony now than there ever was in the other decisions which the school board had to make." He added that although there were some areas of disagreement, the net result of the discussion so far indicated more agreement than disagreement. Mrs. Edwards, one of the minority members of the board, commented:

> It is a source of encouragement to find that board members are proceeding in a harmonious and generally unanimous manner in consideration of a new superintendent. The way things are going, it seems that we may come to a decision on this with some unanimity.

A few days later Dr. Rodman was called to a special meeting of the board. He was informed that by a vote of six to one he had been appointed superintendent of the Jackson County school system. The one negative vote was cast by Mr. William Grant, a member of the majority. The chairman of the board, Mr. Graham, also a member of the majority, said of the appointment:

> It was important to consider promotion from within the staff. We found our man in Dr. Rodman. We have a high regard for the extent of experience Dr. Rodman has had in school administration as well as teaching. We were most anxious, therefore, to have a well-rounded man in this respect.

He added that he was confident that the new superintendent would sustain the good things already existent in the school system and apply himself constructively to the tasks that lay ahead. Dr. Hopper of the minority group (who had seconded the motion which nominated Dr. Rodman) stated that the appointment was a step ahead for the school system and would serve it well in the future.

Dr. James Rodman was a native of the state. He had his bachelor's degree from one of the state colleges, his master's degree from Columbia University, and his doctorate from the state university. He had more than 20 years of experience as a teacher and school administrator in the state by the time he became the deputy superintendent under Walters in September, 1962, just before the fateful November election. The members of the board had had an opportunity to work with Rodman and had a fairly good idea of what to expect from him. He was a solid educational administrator and not an aggressive crusader like Walters. Walters, in fact, had selected Rodman as a moderating force to complement his own aggressiveness. Rodman was more the pragmatist than the idealist. He assessed every situation which confronted him, weighed the possibilities, and then took his stand on the basis of professionally accepted principles and upon a realistic assessment of what could be attained. Basic to Rodman's position was his feeling that there was too much of a tendency in Jackson County to label one group as the "good guys" and the other as the "bad guys." In his estimation, these labels tended to restrict the ability of the district to find the best and most realistic solutions to its problems. He felt that it was his responsibility to give the kind of leadership to the professional staff that would insure non-involvement of the internal organization of the schools in partisan politics and protection of the school program itself from the community controversies. Inasmuch as the community had elected the school board, he felt that it was his responsibility and that of the professional staff to work with it and to assist it in establishing policies which would maximize educational benefits.

It is difficult to determine exactly how the decision to hire Rodman was made. Within a year following the appointment, both groups on the board wanted to assume the credit for having engineered the decision. A spokesman for the majority group indicated that the majority, on the whole, was looking for a man who could rebuild the shaken staff morale and who would be a voice for moderation within the school system. He said that their decision had actually been made after the group of school administrators approached them in behalf of Dr. Rodman.

One of the members of the minority said that provisions for screening candidates had been established with the aid of Dr. Walters before he left. The board had also consulted the executive secretary of a national association of school administrators who was very skillful in helping the board understand its responsibilities. During the course of his consultation with the board he made a subtle suggestion that the members should recognize that they presently had a top man in the school organization. He did not push Rodman's appointment, but he planted the seed for it. The minority group proceeded very cautiously lest Rodman be tagged as its candidate. The minority members felt, as did the majority, that Rodman would be a voice for moderation and would bring harmony to the school system. They felt that there was some risk in his appointment because he had never held a superintendency in a large school system. He had, however, been an excellent deputy. It is likely that a quick agreement was reached when both contending forces within the school board recognized that the interests of the school system would best be served by the employment of a man who had a reputation as a solid educator and who would be a voice for moderation.

No adverse reactions to the appointment were publicly reported. As frequently happens when a new school head is appointed, groups which otherwise may not be harmonious tend to work cooperatively to give the new incumbent an opportunity to find his way and establish his patterns of operation. Both the conservatives and liberals wanted Rodman to succeed. Possibly even more than this, both groups were looking forward to the school board elections only a few months away, at which time the minority members would either retire from office or stand for re-election.

Chapter 2

1964

The Election

In 1962 the election was won as a result of an uninformed electorate, but in 1964 it was won as a result of an outraged electorate.

Preparation for the Election

The focus of attention now was on the three minority group members who would soon have to decide whether or not they would run for re-election in November, 1964. Only one significant change appeared to have taken place in school board operations as a result of Rodman's appointment—the superintendent was no longer the focal point of the board's controversies. Rodman exhibited a personal style which enabled him to remain nonpartisan in deliberations between the two groups on the board. Whereas Walters' alignment with the minority was recognized by all groups in the community, Rodman did not become the man of either the minority or the majority. He offered objective recommendations to the board and maintained an identification as a moderate and a stabilizer rather than as a partisan to any faction or ideology.

On practically all issues that came before the board, the minority remained a unified force. This was not entirely true of the majority. Certain members of the majority had developed some specialized interests, and they could no longer be counted upon to vote as a block on very matter that arose. Two members of the majority group consistently stood in opposition to the minority. The chairman, however, seemed to play a mediating role, attempting to use his position, for the time being, to moderate between the groups and achieve a greater degree of harmony in school board operations. He appeared to want a compromise and to become recognized as the individual who ended the conflict and returned the school board to stable operations. The fourth member of the majority defied categorization. Some of the minority members said that it was very difficult to predict how he would vote. He might vote with either faction, depending upon his own inclinations with respect to the matter under consideration.

The Issue of Professional Negotiations

One of the most serious issues to come before the board prior to the 1964 election was the question of recognition of the Jackson County Teachers' Association (JCTA) as the bargaining agent for professional employees. In April, the JCTA invited all board members to an off-the-record dinner meeting to give them a preview of their proposals for a negotiating plan. Only four members of the board attended, the chairman and the three members of the minority group.

It was reported at the meeting that the JCTA would officially request the board to recognize it as the sole negotiating voice for professional and clerical personnel as long as its membership contained more than 50 per cent of all those eligible. It was propsed that on all matters relating to salaries and working conditions, the board delegate responsibility to a negotiating committee of the JCTA and the school superintendent. This group would strive for agreement before reporting to the board. In the event of disagreement, the board and the JCTA each would appoint one individual to serve on a mediating committee, with a third, neutral member, chosen by both parties, who would serve as chairman. This meeting was called exclusively to orient the board members to the requests which JCTA would formally make at a subsequent public meeting. For the most part, board members were non-committal as to their reactions. However, charges were immediately made by the conservative press that the teachers were attempting to take over the board's responsibilities and that they were asking the board to abrogate its legal decision-making prerogatives.

Two months later the JCTA formally made its request before the board. The executive secretary of the association indicated that his organization represented approximately 93 per cent of the county's teachers, and he informed the board, "If you establish an orderly procedure, it will go a long way to calm troubled waters." He indicated that the establishment of a negotiations policy would produce a voluntary agreement by the association not to consider strikes or sanctions to express the teachers' disapproval with school board decisions.

Almost all of the board members, both majority and minority, expressed negative reactions to the proposal. They knew that the JCTA had narrowly defeated a motion submitted by some of its members to request that the National Educational Association conduct an investigation of the Jackson County schools to determine the causes of the "deteriorating climate of education." They were not sure what this new action of the teachers implied.

Mrs. Mary Edwards, a member of the board minority group, said that the proposal appeared to be an attempted evasion of the whole concept of public education. She pointed out that the teachers and other school employees had an opportunity to influence board polices by voting in elections every two years. The chairman of the board, a member of the majority, indicated later that he was opposed on purely legal grounds to the board's acceptance of the negotiations request. He maintained that the laws of the state did not give the board a right to designate a single bargaining agent to represent the teachers. As the weeks of controversy and debate on the issue passed, the executive secretary of the JCTA was reported to have said that if the board did not act positively on the issue, it would become a matter of great concern to teachers in the November school board election.

Fear of Another "CAP Sheet"

As the time for the selection of candidates for the school board positions approached, the CPS became concerned about the tactics the conservatives might use to elect additional members of their persuasion to the board. In April, the county seat of Hemphill in Jackson County held its elections for city council. Two years previously there had been no competition for office but this year a vigorous campaign was being waged for the positions. One of the newspapers in the county reported that a man who had been one of the heaviest financial contributors to the CAP sheet in 1962 was again promoting the publication of a "hate sheet" which would vigorously attack the candidates whom he opposed. A newspaper charged that he was not a resident of the community, and it said:

> But two of the questions being asked by concerned Hemphillians are (1) why is a nonresident so deeply involved in an election that historically is left to local residents and (2) will there be another CAP sheet in the waning days of this campaign filled with innuendo and vilification like the last one with no time for those attacked to reply before the votes are cast?"

A few days before the election, the anticipated sheet was published under the title, "The Hemphill Voter." Its headline read: "END RECKLESS GOVERNMENT IN HEMPHILL! VOTE APRILL 27!" One subheadline was "HEMPHILL RULED BY A TIGHT CLIQUE, INGROWN, PERPETUATING CIRCLE," and another was "HIDDEN BOMBSHELL FACES CITY TAXPAYERS (YOU FACE SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS LIABILITY)!!" The technique, similar to the 1962 CAP sheet, did not work in this city election, but liberals within the county were warned by the press that those who had an advantage to gain might again use this technique to win the school board election in November. It was generally recognized that this technique had not worked in Hemphill for three reasons: first, the person who instigated the publication was not a citizen of the community, and those who opposed his candidate used this information effectively against him; second, unlike the 1962 CAP sheet, the publication did not appear without warning, so the opposition had time to prepare for it as well as to answer the charges which it made; and, third, the experience of the 1962 CAP sheet was still fresh in many people's minds, and the reaction to it was strongly negative.

School board elections do not generally capture the public imagination. Rarely does a community take so much interest in a local school board election that the issues transcend either state or national contests. Such, however, was the case of the election for school board members in Jackson County in November, 1964.

The Committee for the Public Schools (CPS)

In one sense, preparation for the 1964 election had begun soon after the 1962 election. The CPS, as previously indicated, was organized in February, 1963. Its literature stated that the organization was established by "a group of civic-minded persons concerned by the post-election performance of the 'Class of '62'." CPS members stated that they were a nonpartisan action organization devoted entirely "to the support and continued improvement of public education in Jackson County." They maintained that their organization served four functions: first, it was a fact finding group whose research teams reported information about county schools; second, it distributed periodically among its members bulletins containing detailed reports on matters affecting the school system; third, the officers attempted to represent the membership regularly before the Board of Education and the County Council in order to present the case for quality education; and fourth, it was a political action group whose purpose was to "fight an all-out campaign in every precinct for the election of school board members who will support quality education."

The CPS literature stated that after a decade of steady improvement, Jackson County's public schools were moving backward as a result of the actions of the majority elected in 1962. They cited a number of decisions of the majority which, in the opinion of CPS members, caused a deterioration in the quality of public education. These included influencing the resignation of "one of the top school administrators in the country"; undermining the morale of teachers and administrators; overcrowding secondary classes in English, math and sciences; forcing restricted kindergarten attendance and combination classes in elementary schools; significantly increasing the number of inexperienced teachers who were employed because they came at lower salaries; discontinuing foreign language programs and cutting back physical education in the elementary schools; cutting back counseling and driver education; threatening a discontinuation of the junior college; and delaying the necessary building programs. The committee charged:

> The "Class of '62" is short-changing Jackson County where it hurts the most—in its school system. We cannot remain a first rate community if our school system becomes second rate. We cannot meet the needs of our children for quality education in the bargain basement.

The Committee forthrightly announced that it was looking forward to the 1964 election as a crucial one for the citizens of Jackson County and an opportunity to test the values which they attach to excellence in education. The Committee left no doubt as to its support of the three minority members who, they said, had resisted with partial success the reactionary efforts of the majority. Since the four majority members would continue in office, the Committee charged that:

> Failure to elect a minority slate pledged to educational progress will be a catastrophe for our schools. Such a failure would be interpreted as endorsement of the majority's record of educational retrogression.

They forecast that if the election were "lost," the backward push would gain new momentum. There would be a substantial exodus of talented professionals from the school system. Their slogan was, "It's your decision. Your children's future depends upon you!"

The membership of the CPS, which included both Republicans and Democrats, represented a cross-section of the "progressive" or "liberal" citizens of Jackson County. Some were old residents of the community, although for the most part the committee was comprised of relative newcomers who had sought out Jackson county as a desirable suburban community in which to raise their children. The membership included government workers, scientific personnel, professionals of all sorts, business people, junior and senior executives, housewives, and office workers. Their common characteristic seemed to be that they placed education high in their scale of values. They wanted good services for their children and themselves, and they were not unwilling to pay the taxes necessary to obtain them. They tended to be individuals who were not critically affected by the high costs of suburban living, although for most of them, family budgets were far from unlimited. On the whole, they were well-educated intellectuals who believed that the good things in life came through effort. To obtain what they considered a good education for their children, they were willing to make the effort necessary to actively engage in political campaigns.

The Council for Better Education (CBE)

The only group that tended consistently to oppose the minority on the school board was the Council for Better Education (CBE). CBE was not an affiliate of the national Council for Basic Education. CBE literature described it as a grass roots organization of parents and other citizens who were interested in a "good, basic education for the children of Jackson County and in the wise use of financial and human resources to attain this end." The literature stated that the Council was organized in 1959 and had retained a four-fold program since its inception:

1. It has studied and taken stands on issues of importance to basic education.
2. It has sought to increase general public knowledge of and interest in basic education by holding and participating in meetings on educational subjects and by releasing information through public informational media and through leaflets, throwaways, etc.
3. It has supported qualified candidates for election to the board of education.

4. It has helped to promote the efficient and economical operation of the school system by reviewing and commenting on the school system budget and on other relevant matters from time to time.

In 1964 members of CBE held that there were four basic issues confronting the Jackson County schools. First, children who drop out of school do so because they have not acquired the fundamental skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. This fact, they asserted, was due to the failure of the schools to emphasize basic education. Second, the Council stated its belief that knowledge of basic subjects is an important end in itself, and "that such knowledge has the potential of starting children on the roadway to a fuller life, a life of continual learning." Third, the Council held that the Amidon plan as developed in the schools of Washington, D.C. is the soundest approach to basic education. Fourth, for the secondary schools the CBE advocated that there should be an adequate number of teachers for the basic subjects.

In general, CBE tended to support the points of view of the majority school board members, although it was not in complete agreement with all the majority's decisions. The members wanted good education for their children, but they had some specific interpretations of what constituted a good educational program. The most controversial part of their platform was their advocacy of a program similar to the Amidon Plan throughout the Jackson County school system. It was through their insistence and rapport with the majority on the board that experiments with the Amidon Plan in seven elementary schools in the County were started. The superintendent of schools described the Amidon education program as it was being developed in one school in Jackson County as follows:

1. It will be a teacher directed pre-determined instructional program in areas of basic skills and basic knowledge.
2. It will provide a daily schedule for each subject and a weekly program on a pre-determined time allotment plan.
3. It will provide for direct teaching to the whole class. Small groups will be taught chiefly to meet special individual needs.
4. In each subject area, use of the same textbooks for each pupil in each class consistent with their [*sic*] expected achievement level will be made.
5. It will contain a daily systematized program [illegible] phonetics instruction, kindergarten through grade three, expanded in

> grades four through six to include structural analysis, meaning, and the origin of words [The material used here was known as the Phono-Visual instructional materials].
>
> 6. No self-directed activity by pupils unless prepared for and under the direction of the teacher will be permitted.

Some other characteristics of the Amidon Plan referred to in the superintendent's memorandum included firm classroom control and discipline, provision of a flow chart for each subject and grade, daily study assignments to be done in the classroom plus at least one hour of home study each day, development of self-reliance and self-direction through the acquisition of competence in the basic skills and through successful experience, employment of teaching techniques based on what is known about the nature of learning, and the use of traveling specialists to teach art, music, and physical education.

Members of the CBE may not have been in complete agreement on all these provisions, but they did agree that the desirable goal in education was a return to the fundamentals of teaching and learning with emphasis upon solid content and the acquisition of basic skills of learning.

One person not affiliated with the group but knowledgeable of its programs stated that it was unfortunate that CBE was tarred with a black brush by professional educators and the press. He said that they were labeled as an adverse critic group, and this charge was not fair. They were not school "dynamiters." They saw a need for providing the best education possible for their children, and they had a deep philosophical break with the so-called permissive or progressive educational philosophy, which they felt permeated the school system at that time. They felt that with the kind of money that was being spent on education "the schools ought to produce kids who could read, write, and spell." The informant said their attitude could be summed up as follows:

> To hell with the new math! Give me a kid who can add, multiply, and divide. I'm not interested in all the frills and novelty goals of the educationists and their companion theorists.

Many observers felt that, in the 1962 election, the CBE membership was "used" by individuals whose chief interest was the control of the County Council for economic profit. There is no evidence to suggest that CBE leadership was involved in the County-Above-Party (CAP) group in 1962, which was composed primarily of conservative politicians of both parties and land owners who wished to abolish the restrictive zoning ordinances imposed by previously adopted master plans for land use and development. When they accomplished their political goals in 1962, the CAP appears to have dissolved, although its members could readily be called together again for concerted political action.

Although not as visible or nearly as large as the membership of CPS, CBE membership, too, appeared to be varied. Comprised of both Republicans and Democrats, home-owners in the community, and representatives of professional and business interests as well as employee groups, the membership of CBE tended to be more conservative politically than the members of CPS, and they were much more conscious of their tax burdens. They were charged with being a dissident group, but in fact they were no more dissident with respect to the policies of Superintendent Walters and his pre-1962 school board than CPS was with the policies of the majority members of the school board after 1962.

In 1962, the election for all county positions had been controlled by a well organized group of conservatives, financed by individuals who were primarily interested in the land-use and zoning policies of the County Council. They supported conservative candidates for the school board in order to oust liberals from *all* elected county offices. In opposition to them was an inchoate group of liberals who supported the incumbent members of the school board but who had neither the organization nor funds with which to pursue a vigorous campaign. When the CAP sheet was published a few days before the election, they were not able financially or organizationally to make an effective counterattack.

In 1964, the situation was entirely different. It was a presidential election year. No positions on the Jackson County Council were up for election, and the school board election was the only significant local contest. A new, aggressive, politically oriented organization, the CPS, had entered the field to campaign for the school board candidates of its choice.

Selecting the Candidates

In May, 1964, CPS announced that it was seeking nominees for the three school board posts to be filled in November. They invited nominations to be submitted to a fourteen-member interviewing committee which they had established to screen names and to recommend at least one candidate for each of the three seats to a voting assembly. A spokesman for the CPS stated that this was the first effort in Jackson County to nominate the best qualified school board candidates by open democratic processes. They claimed that the committee members were chosen from 15 organizations interested in education.

A conservative newspaper in the county reacted immediately with an editorial charging CPS with an attempt to provide a screen for the renomination of the three minority incumbents, Dr. Hopper, Mrs. Edwards, and Mrs. Craig. It claimed that CPS was an extremist group proficient only in "politicking." The editorial indicated that the CPS already had announced that the three incumbent minority members had "impressive support" for their candidacy. The editorial stated:

> Unfortunately for the CPS, the vast majority of the people in this county made it clear in November, 1962, that the thinking exemplified by Dr. Hopper, Mrs. Edwards, and Mrs. Craig must be eliminated from the board of education. This is why the voters ousted their four colleagues and replaced them with four others dedicated to basic fundamentals in schools. The committee has performed at least one worthwhile function. Its activities on behalf of the three incumbents whose terms expire this year should alert those on the other side to the need to maintain their watchfulness against attempts to thwart the wishes of the majority. It is not too early for the majority moderates in Jackson County to begin thinking of possible candidates to replace Hopper, Edwards and Craig, for the battle against social adjustment in education is only half won. The final victory must come in November.

Another newspaper editorialized that the battle would only be won if the voters completed the job that they had started in 1962 and established within the board a uniform and consistent philosophy of education. It stated that it would be a disservice to the new superintendent of schools if he had to begin his tenure under a divided board, "some of whose members favor a return to the free spending and experimentation of the past." This newspaper also charged that the purpose of the CPS nominating convention was to screen out conservative candidates to insure a liberal victory. It pointed out that the CBE had not been included among the citizens' groups incorporated into the nomination convention.

The president of the CBE announced that the CPS had failed to inform the electorate that the laws of the state already provided an official, non-secret means for obtaining nominees for school board positions. Any candidate for the school board could file a petition signed by a designated number of voters at least 60 days before the general election to place his name on the ballot. He pointed out that citizens did not have to submit names to the CPS assembly or to obtain its endorsement in order either to run for or to support candidates for the school board. He said that the CBE protested the action of the CPS and fully intended, as it had in the past, to support qualified candidates who were in favor of the cause of better, basic education.

In the weeks that followed, there was a great deal of speculation as to whether or not the three incumbents would seek re-election. Finally, on August 13, the CPS Convention met and nominated the three, Charles Hopper, Mary Edwards, and Alice Craig. Upon their nomination, the three issued a joint statement:

> We have reached our decision to run individually. Having done so, we are now going to run as a team, a team committed to a realistic, practical program of steady progress at a reasonable pace . . . . Our school system is basically good, but it has suffered damaging cuts and the loss of momentum during the last two years. We believe continuing uncertainties and the failure to retrieve our losses in the years immediately ahead would severely harm our schools.

The three candidates indicated that their experiences as two-term board members had given them the background to deal with the problems faced by a school system which needed to improve both its academic and its vocational programs "while recruiting 900 teachers a year, up-dating the curriculum, re-training the supervising teachers, buying sites and building schools to accommodate 6000 new students a year, and assuring economic efficiency."

One newspaper in the community charged that the nominating assembly excluded conservatives and was presumably made up of organizations which professed aloofness from politics but were all too ready to indulge in back door campaign activities. One of the four majority members of the school board stated that by accepting the endorsement of the CPS the three minority school board incumbents publicly associated themselves with:

> . . . the distorted misrepresentations of the unbalanced, liberal group. This association should be quite compatible, as the record will show that fuzzy thinking and distorted presentations are not unusual for these incumbents.

The announcement of the candidacy of the three incumbents was closely followed by the announcement of the candidacy of Mr. James

Wright, a sanitary engineer in government employ, who was president of CBE. In making his announcement, Wright declared that if elected he would support school budgets adequate to achieve desirable educational objectives. Within two weeks the slate was completed and Mr. Wright had as running mates Mr. Kenneth Woods, a lawyer, and Mr. Robert Smith, a native Jackson County farmer and real estate operator. Dr. Hopper would be opposed by Mr. Smith, Mrs. Edwards by Mr. Wright, and Mrs. Craig by Mr. Woods.

The Challengers

Mr. Wright, the head of the team of challengers, had been a resident of Jackson County for four years. He had his master's degree in industrial health from a large midwestern university. He had been active in community affairs for a number of years and had three children in the Jackson County public schools. He announced in his campaign folder that he had been a student of the educational process, was widely read on education subjects, and had observed education in action in some nine county public schools and in other schools, including one in a nearby city which had an experimental basic education program. He stated that he had attended 12 school board meetings during the past year. He advocated emphasis upon subject matter and standards, early phonetic-based instruction for better reading, writing, and spelling, English grammar instruction in the elementary grades, adequate but reasonable school budgets, and basic education to meet the needs of changing times. He summarized his views by stating that he believed in the Amidon approach to basic education.

Kenneth Woods, a young lawyer, had been a resident of Jackson County for 10 years, following a period of military service. He was a vice-president of the Allied Civic Group, which is a confederation of various civic organizations. He stated that he believed in basic education to prepare children to meet the challenge of change in an increasingly complex world. He stated, "As a parent, I am concerned that children are not being given in full or even in adequate measure the essential tools of learning." He favored systematic phonetic instruction from kindergarten through grade three, and Amidon-type emphasis on basic education, elementary school curriculum standards, responsible policy direction by the board of education, and more stress on content in the early grades. His campaign statement held, "The real worth of our school system is measured not by how much it costs, but by what it teaches our children."

The third member of the challengers was Robert Smith, a young man from the up-county area. A resident of Jackson County all his life, he operated a large dairy farm and also sold real estate. He had children in the public schools. He said that he had never run for office before, but he was now "running strictly as a conservative candidate in order to support the four majority members of the board and the Amidon plan." His campaign flyer promised:

> He will support the conservative board programs of the last two years which have resulted in emphasis on reading and other basic subjects, increase in standards for textbooks and library books, increase in salaries for teachers and all school personnel while reducing taxes, administration and school construction costs.

The Incumbents

The minority incumbents were Mrs. Mary Edwards, Mrs. Alice Craig, and Dr. Charles Hopper. Mrs. Edwards and Mrs. Craig were first elected to the school board in 1960; Dr. Hopper was appointed to fill a board vacancy in the spring of 1960, and was elected to a full term in the fall of that year. (A description of their individual backgrounds is contained in the Prologue.)

The Campaign of the Incumbents

The three incumbents said they would run as a team, and they did. In their campaign literature they stated that they stood for realistic and steady school progress at a reasonable pace and for "regaining the ground the county schools have lost in the past two years." They said they had opposed the drastic cut of 200 teachers needed to meet the 1963 enrollment increase of 600 students. They said they had fought for more teachers and smaller classes, maintaining programs in foreign languages and physical education, strengthening counseling, providing better services for handicapped children, and continuing the community college. All of these items had been controversial issues between them and the majority members of the school board. They stated that school board leadership was necessary to provide strong programs and basic skills in academic, technical, and vocational fields, a favorable educational climate to attract top-notch teachers for the 900 positions that must be filled each year, curriculum improvement to bring new knowledge into the classroom, opportunities for all teachers to up-date their professional skills, and adequate supervision for teachers, especially the 25 per cent who had no more than two years' experience. They stated that they were willing to stand on their record as school board members who had fought to maintain the quality of the educational program against the "crippling cuts."

From the moment the opposing candidates declared for office until the day of the election, the campaign was vigorous, partisan, and filled with invective. The minority incumbents did not really run against the challengers, but against the majority members of the school board with whom they attempted to identify the challengers. The issues were clear-cut. The challengers took their stand on the side of the majority and asserted that if the minority members were eliminated from the board, they, in partnership with the incumbent majority, could bring into being the program of basic education for which they stood. The minority pointed to the record of the majority between 1962 and 1964, and asked the citizens of the community if this was the kind of education they wanted in their county. Even more than running against the majority members of the school board, the incumbents ran against the County Council, which had been responsible for the most significant and dramatic financial restrictions on the county school system.

Old-line politicians will say that elections are not won on ideological issues, but by getting people who are committed to candidates to the polls. Standard electioneering techniques for the school board in Jackson County consisted of having various groups hold rallies at which the candidates could appear, speak, and, hopefully, have their remarks reported in the weekly editions of the county newspapers. A few candidates bought some radio time, and most candidates distributed hundreds of amateurishly prepared leaflets at meetings and other public gathering places.

A leader of the CPS said that it had been calculated that even if the candidates attended a rally every night they wouldn't reach ten per cent of the voters during the campaign. Besides, the people at the rallies were generally those who were already informed, highly interested, and were there to support the candidates of their choice. The election, however, would be decided by the vast majority of the voters who did not come to the rallies, did not have firm convictions on the matter, and might be mobilized again by the kind of smear technique used by the CAP sheet in 1962. The question was what kind of CPS campaign organization was necessary to get people committed to their candidates and out to vote in the election in November.

Early in the campaign the leaders of the CPS decided that a sizable election organization was necessary to contact all citizens of the district and encourage them to vote for Hopper, Edwards, and Craig. This organization was considered necessary to prepare the voters against the possible effects of another CAP sheet. The leadership reasoned that the best antidote to a CAP sheet was a citizenry highly informed about the candidates and the issues they stood for and against. A precinct organization was formed by CPS with each precinct divided into blocks. Workers were assigned to cover specific blocks. The county as a whole was divided into several divisions, and division captains worked directly with division leaders, who, in turn, managed the activities of the block workers. In all, it was estimated that about 3,000 precinct workers were actively engaged in the campaign for the incumbents, and some precincts had as many as 75 to 100 workers in them.

The first reactions reported by the precinct workers were very disappointing to the CPS leadership. One CPS leader reported that when the names of the candidates were mentioned the typical first reaction of a householder was a blank stare. Often householders voiced the opinion that the entire school board was bad and indicated they were not going to vote for anyone on the board. This aroused a considerable amount of fear that Hopper, Edwards, and Craig would be tarred with the same brush which the CPS wished to reserve exclusively for the challengers in this election and the majority of the board in a future election.

It also became evident to CPS leaders that precinct workers were being asked questions which they were not prepared to answer. A research committee was established whose first job was to arm precinct workers with data which would enable them to present a reasonable argument and answer any basic questions which were asked by citizens. When questions arose which precinct workers were unable to answer, the research committee would quickly secure the necessary data and give the precinct worker or the voter the information he requested.

The CPS leadership estimated that if the precinct operation was at least 30 per cent effective the race could be won. Almost every house in the entire county was contacted, the majority in person and the rest by letters or hand-delivered flyers. As it turned out, the CPS estimated that the precinct operation was between 60 and 80 per cent effective.

The CPS strategy was to keep the campaign as simple as possible, using the main theme that Hopper, Edwards, and Craig were the "good guys" on the board who deserved the support of everybody in the county. They discovered that even intelligent and generally knowledgeable people didn't know the candidates. Their first job was to gain voter recognition of Hopper, Edwards, and Craig as the board members who were fighting to save the quality of the school program. CPS attempted to focus attention on two simple themes. First, "Our candidates fought the crippling cuts!" and second, "Our opponents are backed by right wing extremists!"

The CPS also published three brochures during the campaign. The first listed the names of the three candidates and presented a biographical sketch of each. It used the slogan, "FOR SCHOOLS TO MEET JACKSON COUNTY'S NEEDS, RE-ELECT HOPPER, EDWARDS AND CRAIG." It asked the citizens to "support a responsible, experienced team." The second flyer pictured a series of 1962 and 1963 headlines from local newspapers. The caption on the flyer said, "LOOK WHAT'S HAPPENING TO OUR SCHOOLS!" Then it listed the headlines that were most damaging to the majority candidates: "LARGE JACKSON CLASSES SEEN IN SCHOOL BUDGET SLASH"; "EXODUS OF TEACHERS HITS JACKSON COUNTY"; "JACKSON SCHOOL FUND CUTS ARE DECREED AS IRRESPONSIBLE"; "JACKSON BIRCHERS ASK REMOVAL OF SOME BOOKS IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS"; "LOWER QUALITY SCHOOLS," "IMPACT OF BUDGET CUTS ON SCHOOLS REVEALED." The leaflet asked what could be done about the situation, and the answer was, "SUPPORT THE CANDIDATES WHO FOUGHT THE CRIPPLING CUTS: GIVE THEM A MANDATE TO HALT THE DAMAGE!" On the reverse side of the flyer was a picture of the voting machine keys as the names would appear, and again the slogan was used "GIVE THEM A MANDATE TO HALT THE DAMAGE TO OUR SCHOOLS." The third leaflet was a throwaway which merely pictured the voting machine and showed the names of the three incumbent candidates as they would appear under the keys.

Large newspaper advertisements also appeared during the last few days of the campaign. The official advertisements were very simple. They reiterated the theme of the pamphlets and listed names of prominent citizens who were supporting the three CPS candidates. Some of the advertisments were aimed at the citizens of a particular area of high population concentration, and they featured the names of prominent citizens in that area. The last advertisement to appear said, "Worried about our schools? We all should be! In the past two years the County Council and school board majority have made crippling cuts in essential school programs." It then gave the record of the three minority candidates and concluded with the statement, "Protest damaging cuts in essential school programs! Good schools make better citizens and a better community! Stop tampering with our school system and start supporting constructive efforts to improve it!"

The CPS also encouraged citizens to distribute form letters signed by prominent persons within the locality to their neighbors and friends. The three candidates were kept busy attending rallies which were held almost nightly in the various parts of the county, and the two women candidates in particular spent the days attending coffees, teas, and receptions which were held for them by members of county organizations.

The CPS built a sizable campaign fund, estimated to be between $13,000 and $14,000. Mrs. Edwards said she was embarrassed to see so much money being spent on a school board campaign. All of it came in the form of donations, one or two amounting to $1,000 each, but most were very small donations from individual citizens within the community.

CPS mounted a political campaign that would have been the envy of professional politicians throughout the country. It was designed with care and foresight. It collected sufficient money to sustain it, and it mobilized enthusiastic participation by a large number of citizens who devoted countless hours of effort.

The Campaign of the Challengers

The campaign of the challengers was in sharp contrast to that of the CPS candidates. Although the challengers had a few friends and associates who campaigned in their behalf, they did not develop the organization, the workers, or the financial resources required to obtain coverage comparable to that which their opponents had achieved in the county. The challengers attended most of the rallies, obtained some favorable newspaper stories, and each candidate published a leaflet describing his qualifications and platform. There was also one group leaflet which said, "CAST AN INFORMED VOTE IN THE SCHOOL BOARD RACE!" The leaflet held that, "THE ISSUE IS BASIC," and asked the question, "EDUCATION. WHAT IS IT? HOW DO WE GET IT?" The body of the leaflet stated:

> MANY PEOPLE ARE UNAWARE of the serious shortcomings in our schools.

> There are inadequate standards in elementary grades from school to school or even from class to class within the same school.
>
> Parents and employers complain that many graduates of our public schools are weak in the fundamentals of reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic.
>
> MORE OF THE SAME MEDIOCRITY? The minority seeking re-election stubbornly refused to accept responsibility for finding realistic solutions to these serious problems.
>
> Adamantly defend the outmoded methods of so-called "progressive education."
>
> Deny the need for standards of achievement in elementary schools.
>
> Equate dollars spent to "quality of education" while ignoring their responsibility to promote a sound education policy.
>
> BASIC EDUCATION of the "Amidon type" consists of a superior elementary school curriculum presented in an orderly, logical way.
>
> Emphasizes thorough instruction in essential subjects.
>
> Encourages self-discipline, good study habits, and a sense of accomplishment.
>
> ELECT SMITH, WRIGHT AND WOODS.

The reverse side contained the caption, "EDUCATION TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE!" It was followed by a picture and biographical sketch of each candidate. Their slogan was, "CONCERNED, RESPONSIBLE, AND INDEPENDENT, THESE MEN DESERVE YOUR SUPPORT!"

The challengers also had a few small advertisements inserted in local newspapers several days prior to the election. Their advertisement read: "THEY TALK SCHOOLS! WE TALK EDUCATION! COUNCIL FOR BETTER EDUCATION. VOTE FOR SMITH, WRIGHT, AND WOODS." They did not accumulate a campaign treasury comparable to their opponents', and their efforts seemed very modest by comparison. At most, they mobilized a few hundred dollars and a few hundred workers to assist them. CPS actively sought funds and workers to conduct the campaign. CBE did not. They seemed to rely upon their message gaining support without vigorous political action in its behalf.

The challengers kept emphasizing the values of basic education and the need to follow the Amidon program more extensively in the Jackson County schools. The incumbents, too, continued to attack the program cuts sponsored by the majority of the board, identifying the majority of the board with the budget slashes proposed by the Coun[illegible] Council, and attempting to identify the challengers as colleagues of both the conservative majority on the board and the conservative County Council.

It appeared as though the two sides were talking about one another, with neither bothering to answer the other's charges in many instances. The challengers called for greater emphasis upon the fundamentals of learning, and particularly stressed the controversial Phono-Visual method of reading instruction. They attacked the incumbents for displaying little interest in the Phono-Visual method and claimed the incumbents had blocked its more extensive application. The incumbents said that the county could not afford to have additional "budget cutters" and "thrill hunters" join those already in the majority on the board. They charged that unanimity among the board members would result in even more drastic cuts and restrictions in the educational program. The challengers, on the other hand, said that the main issue was whether to continue "the dreary road of progressive education and its child-centered, life-adjustment approach that produces protected and coddled individuals who read and write with difficulty or the road of basic education producing intellectual and moral stamina to meet the needs of the changing world." The challengers contended that the present school system must accept responsibility for "a lack of moral discipline among our youth."

The incumbents stated that the Amidon program was unevaluated, but that they would favor experimenting with the approach on a limited scale in order to test it. They said that because of the actions of the majority, the morale of the teaching staff had deteriorated considerably in the last two years.

For the most part, the majority members of the school board did not become personally involved in the campaign. Three of the four majority members stated that they supported the challengers, but aside from presenting their views casually to friends, they provided no active support. They favored the challengers because they represented the educational perspective with which they, the majority members of the board, agreed. They felt, however, that their board membership status and the fact that they were the target of attack by the CPS would not aid in the election of the challengers. They also recognized that the challengers made an error in attempting to "run on the shirttails" of the majority. This error fell neatly into the strategy of the CPS. The majority members, in retrospect, felt that the challengers would have been better off if they had tried to conduct an independent campaign and to convince the public that they were not a part of any group but would exercise independent discretion on matters before the board.

As the campaign wore on, audiences became increasingly partisan. At many of the rallies the audience seemed to be made up primarily of strong supporters of the incumbents who had come to pick up information for campaign ammunition. The charge was made, but denied by the CPS, that the audiences became unruly, did not let the CBE candidates clearly present their views, and engaged in "vicious heckling." One observer said that at one of the meetings he attended, the behavior of the audience was such that the wives of two CBE candidates left in tears because they could no longer tolerate witnessing the abuse to which their husbands were subjected. Other observers reported that such conduct was minimal and was aroused by exaggerated statements of criticism made by the CBE candidates.

New Campaign Issues

The CPS was able to take advantage of two emotion-laden issues that arose with dramatic force during the latter days of the campaign. A third issue was not particularly significant to the campaign although the incumbents took a stand on it. We shall discuss the third briefly, and then report upon the two more dramatic issues at some length.

The School Board Primary

The third issue in the campaign involved a legislative referendum to enable the citizens of Jackson County to vote on whether or not they wanted a primary election for the school board. The primary election would come in September in the event that more than two candidates filed for any position that was open. The challengers and their conservative supporters endorsed the primary referendum, hoping that it would stop such moves as the nominating assembly which gave the better-organized liberals a powerful tool in the support of "their" candidates. The CPS, on the other hand, opposed the primary because it felt it would fragment efforts to unite behind good candidates, regardless of their labels or affiliations. (This was also the position of the Jackson County Council of PTA's.) The CPS also asserted that such a primary would increase the burden and cost of campaigning for school board seats by requiring the primary victors to mount additional campaigns for the general election two months later, and would tend to rule out eligible men who were wage-earners and could not afford the time for double campaigns.

The CPS also pointed out that a very small percentage of voters usually vote in the primary elections, and that these are politically the most partisan; therefore, the school board primary would inject partisan politics into a non-partisan election.

The challengers made a great deal of their support of the primary by suggesting that it represented a means of "democratizing" the school election process. The incumbents, on the other hand, although indicating their opposition to the primary, did not attempt to make it a key issue and referred to it only when direct questions were addressed to them.

Right-wing Extremism

The first of the other two dramatic issues emerged late in October when the president of the CPS charged that the extremists of the radical right were making an all-out effort to capture the Jackson County school system. By innuendo and direct reference, he linked the CBE slate to the efforts of extremists. In his prepared speech, the president of CPS said that three Jackson County residents who had sponsored a right-wing advertisement in a newspaper in a remote southern state were among the leaders of a new group formed to support the CBE candidates. He listed the sponsors of the advertisement by name. He said that the secretary of the CBE was also a member of this right-wing organization. He claimed that there was a network of "Birchers, bigots, and other extremists who are supporting and financing the drive to unseat the incumbents." He called upon the CBE slate to repudiate their right-wing supporters. He stated that he did not like to condemn these candidates on the basis of guilt by association, but he added that until they repudiated these supporters, the citizens of the county had a right to know who was sponsoring them.

The advertisement to which the chairman referred was sponsored by the "Crusade for Survival." It was characterized in the press as "a right-wing Jackson County organization." Several Republican members of the Jackson County Council were also listed as backing the advertisement. The advertisement is reported to have said that:

> While American boys are forced to fight just enough to die–but not allowed to fight enough to win–the "accommodators" in Washington continue to negotiate the retreat of freedom and the steady advance of Communism across the face of the earth.

The advertisement also stated that more than six billion dollars of

American taxes had been given in direct military and economic aid to the Communists.

Mr. Wright immediately indicated that he and the other members of his slate were not seeking the support of the extremists and "we don't represent them ourselves." He said that he and his fellow challengers accepted the support of the CBE without reservation, but that they would not be controlled or run by any organization. They would, he noted, accept support from citizens who agreed with their position on basic education, and they did not pass upon the credentials of all their supporters.

The secretary of the CBE, who was listed as one of the signers of the advertisement, declared there was absolutely no connection between the Crusade and CBE. He said although there might be some minor overlapping in the membership lists, the two organizations did not duplicate one another at all. He described the Crusade as a nonpolitical, patriotic study group.

Some of the leaders of the CPS had observed that a number of people in the county who had been labeled as extremists had become active in the challengers' campaign, and they felt that it was important and legitimate to inject the extremist issue into the campaign. They felt that some dramatic charges had to be made "to get the point across to the people." The advertisement gave them the ammunition which they needed at exactly the right moment. One of the leaders said that he recognized that this was McCarthyism in reverse. He said, "This was the easiest way to pin the label on the bad guys." The CPS was conscious of the fact that it was asking for a protest vote, and that a protest vote could best be engineered on the basis of issues which had significant emotional impact. The incumbent candidates themselves never got involved in the issue of extremism At least one of them vigorously opposed the injection of the issue into the campaign. All of them were skeptical about the propriety of the approach.

Despite repudiation by the CBE slate, the harm had been done to its cause. The daily newspaper of the central city, which had general circulation throughout Jackson County, headlined "RIGHTIST MOVE TO RULE COUNTY SCHOOLS SEEN: BACKER OF INCUMBENT BOARD LINKS OPPONENTS TO EXTREMISTS." "RIGHTIST AD ECHOES IN JACKSON COUNTY." "RIGHTIST CAPTURE OF SCHOOLS FEARED."

The charge brought a furor of denials which tended to keep the issue alive. Even the chairman of the school board, a member of the majority, felt impelled to enter the discussion. He said the CPS chairman's speech was a vicious attack, and he didn't think the CBE candidates were going to be influenced by any issue other than that of basic education. He said the latest attack "from the political action gang is just another example of the incumbents and their irresponsible supporters." He said he hoped that the depth of falsehood and evil intent presented in this attack would disqualify the CPS from any further role of educational leadership in the county.

A few days later a group of prominent officials of an important national educational organization, whose headquarters were in the central city, publicly announced their support of the three incumbent candidates. Making it clear that they were speaking exclusively for themselves, they stated, "If Jackson County schools are captured by the extremists, it is the children who will suffer most." They pointed out that one out of every 30 school districts in the country has suffered attacks from extremist groups which have resulted in defeats of school bond elections, intimidation of teachers, mass resignation of harassed school personnel, censorship of textbooks, and removal of literary works from school libraries. They indicated that extremists of the right were becoming active in the Jackson County school board election, and although the charge was not made that the CBE candidates were extremists, there was an implication that they were knowledgeable of the extremist support of their candidacy. The statement criticized the stand of the challengers on basic education as professionally unrealistic.

The challengers labeled the statement as "a rather untoward effort by representatives of a national group to control local educational efforts in the county." One of the challengers stated that he would not become intimidated "by the vicious smear campaign" which was being conducted against him.

The day before the election, a nationally syndicated columnist wrote, under the heading "RIGHTISTS STRIVE TO CONTROL PTA," about the turmoil in Jackson County. He said that until 1962 the schools in the county had progressed to the point where they were one of the models for schools in the nation. Then, suddenly, the right wing took over and with the cry of economy, elected a new school board. As a result, staff morale was undermined. He said that this year a lot of Jackson County housewives and mothers set out to defeat the right wing and re-elect three liberal members of the school board. He indicated that the results of the election would be studied with a great deal of interest.

Professional Negotiations

The other major issue that came to a climax in the closing days of the campaign was one which had long concerned both the teachers in Jackson County and the school board. It concerned the board's recognition of the Jackson County Teachers' Association as the sole bargaining agent for the teachers. On October 1 the bulletin of the JCTA indicated that after months of delay the board would consider, on October 13, the proposal for a professional negotiation agreement with the JCTA. The notice indicated that before he had left his post, Superintendent Walters had recommended that the board adopt a policy which would provide specific processes to be followed prior to the board's adoption of personnel policies, including a formalized procedure for negotiations with a designated teachers' organization. It was reported that both the school board chairman and the new superintendent had given considerable thought to the matter and were now ready to have it come before the board. The executive committee of the JCTA announced that a special membership meeting had been called for October 19 to consider the board's action.

JCTA's request included three items: (1) the recognition of JCTA as the sole negotiating voice of the professional and clerical employees so long as its membership contained more than 50 per cent of the employees of the school district; (2) the establishment of procedures for discussions of major issues between JCTA and the Board of Education, and (3) the acceptance of a duly established means for the resolution of an impasse if one should arise between the Board and JCTA.

On October 13 the superintendent presented his proposal for professional negotiations to the school board, naming the JCTA as the representative of the professional staff and providing procedures for negotiation with that agency. The executive secretary of JCTA indicated that these procedures were acceptable if the board adopted the provision that an advisory committee be constituted to settle an impasse if agreement at the board level was not possible. The superintendent indicated that he would accept the advisory committee, providing it did not interfere with the discretion of the board. The superintendent and the executive secretary of JCTA were commissioned by the school board to work out a mutually satisfactory statement.

Two of the minority members of the board, Dr. Hopper and Mrs. Craig, indicated that they were ready to accept the proposal. Mrs. Edwards said that the proposal, with the exception of the advisory committee provision, was acceptable to her. Three of the majority board members made suggestions for the improvement of the proposal. The fourth member, Mr. Brown, did not indicate how he stood on it. The JCTA executive secretary believed, however, that six of the seven members of the board appeared to favor opening procedures for negotiations with the JCTA, and also appeared to favor the assignment of final responsibility for decisions to the school board rather than to an outside advisory committee. The matter was postponed until the board meeting of October 27, at which time the superintendent was to present to the board a draft of the proposal which included the suggested amendments.

In the JCTA bulletin of October 22, the executive secretary announced:

> The Jackson County Board of Education appears to be rapidly approaching adoption of a proposal for professional negotiations policy with its employees. Six members of the board are in favor of recognition of the Association as the official voice of the profession so long as it retains more than fifty per cent of the teachers in its membership.

Some points of remaining dispute were recounted in the JCTA bulletin and the announcement closed with the statement that Mr. Kenneth Graham, the chairman of the board, had expressed eagerness to expedite this matter, and had explained that the delay which had occurred did not denote reluctance on the part of the board.

The board met on October 27, and late in the evening it resumed discussion of the professional negotiations agreement. The superintendent read the proposed statement of policy, pointing out changes that he had made in the statement as suggested at the last meeting. The only basic change involved a statement recognizing the Board as the legally designated body for making final decisions after discussions were completed or in response to the recommendations of the advisory committee. The superintendent indicated that the statement had been reviewed by the attorney for the board.

There was some discussion of minor matters of wording, and the JCTA executive secretary said that his organization was ready to act in good faith and accept the resolution of the board. After a brief discussion, Mrs. Craig moved that the resolution be adopted as amended. Dr. Hopper seconded the motion. The vote was four to three *against* the resolution, with the four members of the majority voting against it and the three members of the minority group voting for it. Mr. Raymond Crothers then stated, "I agree with the feeling of teachers that there should be avenues of communication, but I believe this can be done through existing channels." Chairman Graham said that his vote was based upon the fact that one article in the resolution appeared not to be congruent with state law. Mrs. Edwards said that the proposal had been approved by the board's attorney, and that she assumed that he had checked its conformity to state law. She added that the resolution on negotiations appeared to be within the framework which the board had previously suggested it favored. The executive secretary of JCTA said:

> We have done our best in good faith. I mistakenly assumed from your courtesy that you concurred. I have been terribly mistaken, and I am perturbed because I know the reaction of the teachers.

Mrs. Craig said:

> We seemed to be working toward a conclusion which would lead any reasonable person to expect agreement. The superintendent has put out a great deal of time on this. I feel we were misled at the last minute and without any indication.

The executive secretary of the JCTA then said, "We have tried to keep ourselves out of this campaign." At that point he was cut off by Mr. Graham, who said that he resented his statements.

Immediately following the board meeting, the executive committee of JCTA met in executive session. The executive secretary was instructed to telephone all schools and urge all teachers to attend a special meeting the next night. This meeting had originally been called to ratify the expected resolution of the board.

The reaction of the teachers was swift and dramatic. The JCTA voted, first, to ask the National Education Association to probe the deteriorating climate of education in the county and, second, to form a special committee to support the three incumbent school board members in the election which was only a week away. By state law, the organization was not permitted to enter into political activities. However, the teachers voted, reportedly unanimously, to form a "Grateful Teachers' Committee" on behalf of the three school board members who voted for the negotiations. It was reported that the Committee collected $1,583 that night to support a newspaper advertising campaign for the three candidates. At the same time, the membership voted officially by a three to two ratio to restrict extracurricular activities by working only from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

The following day a large advertisement appeared in the newspapers as follows:

> THANK YOU DR. HOPPER, MRS. EDWARDS, AND MRS. CRAIG FOR YOUR SUPPORT
>
> OF OUR REQUEST FOR PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATIONS, leading to participation in the development of personnel policies despite the deliberate betrayal this week by the majority board members after two years of consideration.
>
> OF OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM for steady school progress at a reasonable pace by consistent support of small classes, more teachers, expanded opportunities.
>
> OF OUR CHILDREN by maintaining programs in foreign languages and physical education, strengthening the counseling program and providing better services for handicapped children.
>
> OF OUR GOALS OF EDUCATION in developing to the utmost the individual capacities of each child at his own level. Your opposition to thoughtless imposition of education fads like the Amidon plan meets with our wholehearted support.
>
> YOUR OPPOSITION TO DRASTIC CUTS IN TEACHERS AND ESSENTIAL STAFF, ESPECIALLY THE CUT OF TWO HUNDRED TEACHERS NEEDED TO MEET LAST YEAR'S ENROLLMENT INCREASE OF SIX THOUSAND STUDENTS MEETS WITH OUR APPROVAL.
>
> EVERY PROFESSIONAL TEACHER IN JACKSON COUNTY IS GRATEFUL FOR THE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF YOUR SUPPORT FOR A BETTER PROGRAM FOR OUR CHILDREN AND OUR NATION.

The advertisement was signed by "Committee of Grateful Jackson County Teachers." The treasurer of the committee was the president of JCTA. In addition to the advertisement the committee bought some radio spots, and numbers of individual teachers became active in the campaign on behalf of the school board incumbents.

Mr. Wright, the leader of the CBE slate, immediately charged the JCTA with a broad scale attempt to "bulldoze" the voters. He charged that this was another example of JCTA's "long term interference in school board policy and election matters normally reserved to the general public."

The chairman of the school board also declared that he was not surprised at the actions of JCTA because the executive secretary of the association had long been a supporter of the board minority and was "actually the founder of the CPS." He added, "We have faith that the electorate, having repudiated the philosophy of the liberals two years ago, will complete the job in this election."

The campaign had now reached its climax. Election day was one week away. The three daily newspapers of the central city endorsed the incumbents. As expected, some of the smaller weekly newspapers in the county strongly endorsed the challengers, while one weekly with a liberal bent and a much larger circulation strongly endorsed the incumbents.

No CAP sheet was published in support of the challengers. There is no evidence that the individuals who poured so much money into winning the 1962 election paid any attention to the 1964 election or in any way financially supported the challengers in the bid they were making to "complete the job started in 1962."

There was, at the time, considerable speculation as to why the backers of the 1962 CAP sheet failed to give this type of support to the challengers in 1964. The possible reasons will be discussed in greater detail later. Three factors seemed to stand out. First, the supporters of CAP in 1962 were most interested in the control of the County Council, from which control they had much to gain. There was no County Council election in 1964. Second, there was some evidence in 1964 to suggest disaffection among some of the original sheet supporters, particularly on the basis of the extreme actions taken by the County Council subsequent to the 1962 election. Third, there was also some evidence that the politically knowledgeable backers of the CAP sheet did not feel that their technique would be successful again so soon. They had the evidence of the unsuccessful attempt in the Hemphill city election (which had been supported by only one of their number) and they seemed to recognize that "a repeat" would be politically unwise.

Interpretation of the Election Results

On the day after the election, the newspapers reported that the "liberal incumbent candidates" had won a three to one victory over their "conservative opponents." Eighty-three per cent of the citizens who voted for a presidential candidate also voted in the school board election, an unprecedented number. Each of the challengers received between 34,000 and 37,000 votes, while each of the incumbents received between 95,000 and 99,000 votes. In post-election statements the three winners indicated that as far as they were concerned the people of Jackson County had spoken.

Every election is followed by speculation about the causes of the outcome. Analysts frequently seek single or simple causes when, in reality, the results of almost every large election reflect a complexity of factors. In this particular case, there were some discrete differences between the two opposing sides, and it is from an analysis of these distinctions that some of the factors associated with the victory and defeat can be isolated.

The Candidates

First, there were distinctions involving the candidates themselves. The incumbents were seasoned campaigners. They had accumulated experiences in the community and in its political affairs. They had served on the school board and had been involved in the controversies of the post-1962 election period. They realized the importance of strategy, of the manner in which they approached the public, and of the image which they created for themselves. They did not try to solve all the problems of the world during their campaign, and they attempted to keep the issues accurate, forthright, and pertinent.

The challengers were younger men, less experienced and less sophisticated in political campaigns. They were unquestionably as sincere and dedicated to their program as the incumbents were to theirs, but they gave the appearance of being zealots more than practical men of affairs.

The Issues

On the issues, too, different approaches by the two groups can be identified. The incumbents kept the issues simple, tangible, and related to events that had taken place in Jackson County. They could point to precise occurrences and direct the attention of their listeners to what appeared to be realistic outcomes of previous decisions. They were protesting against the board majority, who could be associated with events which had had a shocking impact upon a large segment of the population of Jackson County. They were able to arouse concern when they presented the voters with the question, "Do you want more of the same?" Their position of protest drew strength from deeply-felt and widespread citizen indignation over the actions of the 1962 County Council, and the events which transpired during the campaign strengthened their position. Only in support of a dramatic cause could 3,000 campaign workers be enlisted in a school board campaign. As one respondent put it:

> It was a coalition in 1964—people who had never been active in any community activities came out and volunteered their serv-

> ices—they gave willingly to the campaign funds, and the incumbents and those who were associated with them were embarrassed by the amount of money that was available. There was more money and there were more people involved in this campaign than was true of any other campaign we have ever had for the school board. People were mobilized to knock on doors who had never done so before and will probably never do so again. CPS was a clear coalition and you had to swallow hard to stomach some of the people with whom you associated within it.

Another factor in an analysis of the 1964 election is that many people who supported conservative policies still wanted to keep a minority voice on the board as a check against the majority. By retaining the minority incumbents these people felt that they had a watchdog that would check upon the majority and keep it within bounds. This factor probably had some effect, although we suspect it was minor.

One cannot discount the impact that the charges of right wing extremism had upon the campaign. The temper of the times, as exemplified by the people who participated in community affairs in Jackson County, was such that the charge of right wing extremism could become a significant rallying cry within a well-educated community.

The actions of the teachers in their struggle for recognition of professional negotiations aroused further concerns that touch deeply into the heart of the American ethos. Teaching is generally considered a low status occupation, and teachers frequently have been able to assume the role of the underdog in order to gain public sympathy for their goals. There was some citizen resentment of the political action taken by the teachers, but at the same time, their cause aroused a considerable amount of sympathy. More than one individual indicated that the community interpreted the majority's action as kicking people who were already down. At the same time, the issue was most opportune from a political point of view. An issue during the campaign up to this time had been the shattering of teacher morale by the 1962 elections. Now, the majority had had an opportunity to demonstrate that they were willing to strengthen teacher morale, and had failed the test. The incumbents, in spite of hesitation on the negotiations issue, had voted with the teachers while the majority had voted against them, seemingly unconcerned about the impact their vote would have upon teacher morale.

The CBE candidates had assumed that the tidal wave which swept the majority into the office in 1962 had not yet spent itself, and that they would be carried into office by the same force. Under the circumstances, they not only became identified with the majority, but they fostered the impression that in voting for them, the people would be voting to maintain the same perspectives that prevailed among the majority. On the teacher negotiations issue, for example, they were victims of their own prior commitments in the early stages of the campaign.

The issues upon which the CBE candidates took a stand were theoretical and remote from the daily experience of the average citizen. The public rarely becomes excited about theoretical concerns involving teaching methods. The philosophical issues dividing educationists do not make good campaign material.

The Campaign

The outcome of the election was also affected by factors associated with the campaign itself. The challengers did not effectively combat the overwhelming resources mobilized to support the incumbents, which added up to a political machine that defied opposition. Every move of the incumbents was carefully watched by campaign leaders who had political savvy. Every piece of campaign literature and every advertisement was carefully worded and designed to produce the right reaction. The 3,000 people who were making the house to house canvasses were highly motivated and armed with information. Political power may reside with a group that has the power of sanctions over others, or it may be secured by a group through default of others to engage in political activity. However, political power can certainly be captured by a group which acquires political knowledge and utilizes it effectively. The campaign of the incumbents was designed to shift the governing power over the Jackson County schools, and there can be no question that it effectively mobilized the people of the county and, in 1964, accomplished this end.

In opposition, the challengers commanded few workers and little money. Considering the issues for which they stood and the resources which they had at their disposal, they could probably have been defeated with a fraction of the efforts expended by the incumbents and their supporters.

The Community

Finally, one must also look at factors within the community itself. A great issue in 1962 had been a sizeable increase in property taxes just before the 1962 elections. Taxes did not go down after 1962, but neither did they increase significantly. The taxing bodies in Jackson County in 1964 were composed of the same individuals who had been elected on the economy wave in 1962. This taxing issue did not become important in the 1964 school board campaign. In fact, the challengers denied that they were an economy-minded group, so in this matter they did not differ from the incumbents.

Another important issue in the 1962 campaign had been that of land-use, land planning, and zoning. There were many persons on both sides of this issue who maintained that the CAP sheet had been developed by land owners and real estate interests who were seeking abolition of the master plans for land use and watershed conservation which had been adopted by the old County Council. After 1962 these master plans were abandoned, and in the two years between 1962 and 1964, increasing numbers of high-rise apartments, shopping centers, and high density housing developments were seen dotting the landscape. In 1964 the County Council seats were not up for election; therefore, those who benefited from its policies had nothing to fear. There was no additional economic incentive for them to enter the school board campaign.

Many individuals who had been "taken in" by the CAP sheet were resolved to seek vengeance for having been duped. As one conservative informant said, "The 1962 election was a freak, and the people were out to demonstrate to the nation that it did not represent the true sentiment of the people in Jackson County." Another informant said that in 1962 the election was won as a result of an *uninformed* electorate, but in 1964 it was won as a result of an *outraged* electorate.

Despite the results of the election, the majority who were elected in 1962 still had another two years to serve before they would have to face the electorate again in 1966.

Chapter 3

1964-1966

The Aftermath

Critical problems continued to confront the school board . . . teachers' salaries . . . teacher negotiations . . . growth in the school district . . . the financial conservatism of the County Council.

Dramatic as the election results were, there was no evidence that any remarkable changes took place immediately, either in the school board or in school operations. The board had already settled down to a mode of operating, and, as the same board returned to its responsibilities following the election campaign, there were practically no changes. The same individuals were faced with the continuing types of problems with which they had dealt before the election.

Some observers, including members of the majority group, insist that the fundamental changes had taken place prior to 1964. It was only after the 1964 election, however, that both groups finally understood the true nature of their situation. As one liberal politician in the community pointed out, the backers of the majority had not supported them for any reasons other than expediency. It was the County Council that was supposed to have been the hatchet group for the CAP, and it performed in accordance with the expectations of its supporters. The majority members of the school board "hacked away" at small items, but they did not have any guidelines for establishing major directions. Their actions were largely aimless, and the majority "looked pretty bad because of this fact in the early stages of their office." The majority could present small or large budgets as they saw fit, but the County Council would really make the decisions on economic matters, and this was all that concerned the conservative land interests in the community. The newspaper editors who kept encouraging the school board majority to act more vigorously didn't really represent the interests which controlled CAP, except insofar as they found common cause.

According to several knowledgeable persons, the majority had "mellowed" to a considerable extent by 1964. Because they did not have a specific program to follow, they had to study the situation and develop a perspective on their roles and the problems of the school district. There were, in addition, intense pressures exerted by school-interested groups, as well as by the superintendent and his staff, to encourage them to perceive the vital role that the school had to play in community affairs. However, it cannot be discounted that the majority gradually perceived that a vast number of citizens were outraged at the County Council actions and held them equally responsible for restrictions of school funds and programs. The majority members could not help but recognize that strong political forces could mobilize public sentiment on these issues.

Some of the majority members later admitted to this mellowing process. One member of the group said that, with the possible exception of one individual, the majority members concluded that they had to assume responsibility for maintaining a program. They couldn't continue just as critics, but had to develop a positive perspective toward the needs of the school district. In considering their responsibilities and in gaining experience and opportunity to study the problems of the school district in depth, they developed a broader vision of the job to be done than they had when they were first elected.

Most close observers of the board recognized that a key factor in the shifts in the board's attitude was the change in the superintendency, and the way in which the new superintendent worked. The majority of the board had always looked upon Walters as the "superintendent of the old board." Walters had recognized that the major focus of the attack of the majority was upon him. The minority members of the board, on the other hand, had established a close working relationship with Walters prior to 1962 and had developed a considerable amount of respect for him and his professional integrity. When he was under attack, it was, of course, natural for them to come to his defense. At the same time, Walters recognized that he could depend upon the minority to help him stabilize his program in the schools. Consequently, he turned to it for support. Walters had not, however, been negligent in his responsibilities toward the majority. He carefully worked out his strategies to help them perceive their roles as school board members after they were elected, and to make them aware of what it would take to develop and maintain a good school system.

When the new superintendent came into office shortly before the 1964 election, some of the basic problems of board relationships were already well on the road toward resolution. What Rodman did primarily was to establish an effective working relationship with the board as a whole rather than with any faction of it.

As deputy superintendent, Rodman had had ample opportunity to study the board and to develop an understanding of what was needed to deal effectively with it on a professional level. It would appear that his philosophical inclinations, his personality, and the professional exigencies of the situation were in congruence. He was the right man for the position at this time. Rodman evidently believed in pluralism as an axiom of democratic representation on the board. As their professional adviser, he saw his role as working with the board as a total board. In his personal relations, he guarded against becoming affectively involved either with individual members or with either group as a group. He was well aware that educational values and objectives can become lost in political controversy and he considered it his responsibility to see that the educational interests of the children were not neglected.

Rodman's strategy was to present educationally sound and defensible proposals based upon a conviction that a conservative approach to the improvement of the school system's finances would establish a foundation for a constructive dialogue among board members and within the community. In his discussions with the board, he ably pointed out that his recommendations had limitations. In this fashion, he directed the board's thinking toward desirable elements which were not possible of attainment within the framework of his proposals, and recommended that the board consider extensions beyond the minimal necessities he had recommended. This procedure gave the board an opportunity to commit itself to a broader program.

As it turned out, both groups greatly respected Rodman for his attempts to become a stabilizing force to maintain the educational program free from partisan involvement and to keep the program steadily moving ahead. His behavior enabled the majority members to change their strategy of operation from that of critics who attempted to restrict certain phases of program development to one of becoming a more constructive force, trying to establish sound programs. One critic of the majority group said that its members had made a complete about face: "They had shifted from Scrooge to Santa Claus in three years."

Critical problems continued to confront the school board. There was considerable controversy over the junior college, involving not only the location of the existing campus but also the breadth of the program and the structure of relationships among the school board, the superintendent, and the junior college president.

Teachers' salaries in Jackson County were not on a competitive level with those of surrounding school districts. Jackson County's high cost of living placed a heavy burden on teachers, who either had to rent or buy property in Jackson County which was beyond their means or live outside the county and spend an excessive amount of time and money commuting to work.

It was also not likely that the issue of teacher negotiations would be dropped. To complicate this issue, a new dissident group called the Classroom Teachers' Association (CTA) had sprung up in the county, and before the 1966 campaign was initiated a local of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The question was not only one of the legality of the board's recognition of a teacher group, but also of how to determine which group to recognize, and how to deal with the other teachers' groups which had different points of view from the JCTA.

In addition to these continuing problems, there was the serious matter of growth in the school district, continuing at a rate of approximately 6,000 pupils a year. This growth rate required addition of more than 200 teachers per year and the construction of close to 200 classrooms annually.

During this period the role of the federal government in the educational arena had greatly expanded and the school district was called upon to develop new programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The problem of developing adequate programs to make wise use of federal funds while not encroaching upon the political biases of the school board majority was of no small magnitude to the administrative staff.

A concomitant and continuing problem was that of the financial conservatism of the County Council. To be sure, community support of the schools required the County Council to be more selective in its wielding of the ax, but it nevertheless continued to deal rather ruthlessly with the school district budget.

The minutes of the school board meetings show that there were fewer four to three split votes after the 1964 elections, although on some issues the split still appeared. Absenteeism started to plague the majority members of the board, and there were difficulties encountered in maintaining a quorum for all board meetings.

It is more difficult to determine the pattern of voting among the members during this period than before the election. William Grant of the majority, for example, was still basically conservative as far as extension of the educational program was concerned. He proposed the censorship of materials that were being passed out in the schools, and was the primary critic of federal aid to education programs. On the other hand, on matters of teacher welfare he usually agreed to the most extensive programs. In some instances, particularly on teacher salary matters, he wanted to go beyond the recommendations made by the superintendent. It was the minority group which had to hold the board in check and assess salaries in relationship to the total financial burden placed upon the district at that particular time.

Unified as they were on most welfare provisions, a deep split did occur in the majority when, a few months after the election, the issue of teacher negotiations had again to be considered by the board. The minority had kept the issue alive, but it was majority member Crothers who cast the swing vote that now recognized the JCTA as the negotiations agent for the teachers. The CTA strongly objected to the resolution adopted at this time and requested that the board submit it to the state attorney-general for legal interpretation. The attorney-general ruled that the resolution was contrary to the laws of the state. The reaction of the board was first to suspend and later to rescind its resolution. In both of these latter votes, the four-member majority again voted against the three-member minority.

However, the state board of education later established a rule, binding as law, which permitted both formal and informal recognition of teachers' organizations by school districts. The negotiations again came before the board at the insistence of the minority. Faced with the legitimation of negotiations by the state board regulation, Grant and Crothers voted with the minority to grant formal recognition to the JCTA, which represented approximately 80 per cent of the teachers in the county and informal recognition to the other teacher groups in the district.

It is difficult to apply the labels "conservative" and "liberal" consistently to school board politics during this period. Two members of the majority group and two members of the minority group began to play roles as financial conservators more frequently than they had before. One member of the majority group attempted to play the role of moderator between extreme views when they appeared. About the only thing that the majority members agreed upon consistently was that they would rotate the chairmanship of the board among them throughout their tenure. Each one in turn became the chairman of the board in spite of a move by the minority after the 1964 election to seat one of its members as the chairman.

The minority probably voted as a block on more items than the majority. One strategy upon which the minority members agreed was that of constantly reminding the majority of the actions which they had taken immediately after their election in 1962, most of which the majority would have liked to have seen buried in the dead past.

The majority members of the school board charged that the minority never lost its identity, that it still attempted to fight rear guard actions, and that it tended to agree on issues in advance and vote as a consistent block. On the other hand, the minority charged that on many critical issues the majority members still voted as a block, but that as each of them, in turn, assumed the responsibilities of the chairmanship, he was bitten by "statesmanitis." According to some of the minority members this was even more in evidence after 1964, as both groups tended to look toward the 1966 elections.

Impact of Controversy Upon the Schools

It is difficult to assess the impact that this friction had upon the school system over a four year period. Members of both groups and other observers testified that for some time before his resignation, Walters had become administratively ineffective as a result of the antagonism of the majority school board members to him. On the other hand, there is a considerable amount of testimony and evidence to suggest that after the 1964 election the board became increasingly less powerful in the operations of the schools and Superintendent Rodman became more powerful. One reason for this was the fact that the majority had accomplished one of its primary objectives in the removal of Walters. They now had to look to the leadership of the new superintendent so that by 1966 they could point to a number of positive accomplishments. The minority group, according to their testimony, had always been interested in seeing positive programs developed in the schools. They felt, however, that if they now attempted to promote positive programs, the lingering animosity of the majority would cause them to reject their recommendations. Consequently, their role also was to become supportive of the superintendent in his leadership functions, rather than to assert their own, in order to enhance and extend educational values and programs.

Those who had served on the board before 1962 felt that under their jurisdiction the school system had been dominated by the perspectives of the school board. It was an educationally oriented school board which gave direction to the superintendent. One will recall how Walters was selected by the school board and charged by it to introduce changes rapidly into the school system. Working in harmony, the board did a great deal of planning and evaluation of the educational program with the intention of establishing directions for the staff.

With the split on the 1962 board, the superintendent actually was handed a tremendous amount of power when both factions turned to him to become the stabilizing and directive force. Because he had professional knowledge of education, and specific details of internal school operations in Jackson County, the superintendent could and did exercise influence over the board's decisions. When the board members were involved in internal controversy and did not avail themselves of opportunities to plan and evaluate together, these functions automatically reverted to the superintendent and his staff.

Dr. Rodman also maintained close liaison with the teachers' groups and attempted to steer a course of moderation between them and the board, avoiding insofar as possible actions which would involve the teachers in the political and ideological controversies created by the division of the board. On issues such as negotiations and teacher salaries, conflict was inevitable. But on issues related to the educational program, he quite successfully avoided conflict.

It is difficult to determine in what ways the quality of the educational program may really have been affected by the divided board. Most respondents stated that they could not see any appreciable differences at the local school level in the basic characteristics of the educational program. Certain programs, such as foreign languages in the elementary schools, had been eliminated and were not restored. Most of the cuts in basic areas of concern, such as in the number of counselors available, had been restored. Some individuals closely associated with the schools and knowledgeable of their operations stated that the rate of progress was initially retarded. However, after the initial setbacks, rapid progress was actually made in areas fundamental to the school program, such as teacher-pupil ratios and the provision of additional funds for supplies, equipment, and textbooks. Much of this progress was made by reallocating existing funds, and some aspects of the program were held in check, still, as a result.

School construction kept pace with the needs of the school district in spite of severe conflict between the board and County Council over capital outlay items in the budget. The school district was, however, no longer among the leading districts experimenting with innovations. The only large scale new experiment was the introduction of the controversial Amidon plan in seven pilot schools, and early evaluations indicated that its accomplishments were questionable. (The program was continued, however, to give it a fair chance.) Even the most partisan opponents of the majority could only say that "schools suffered only to the extent that they were not moving ahead as rapidly as they should rather than because they were moving backwards." The national reputation of the school system had certainly suffered, and the ability of the district to obtain superior teachers from across the nation had been restricted. Although such factors cannot be objectively measured, they certainly had some long range effects.

Chapter **4**

1966

The Election

> *Ultimately, the situation in the spring of 1966 was reduced to the point where, if the campaign was to involve controversy, it would have to focus on personalities.*

The Issues

The 1966 election would be similar to that of 1962 in that it would be associated with a gubernatorial race and, insofar as county politics were concerned, the election of members to the County Council. There were several issues related to these other contests, but, at most, the schools were involved in them only peripherally. What, then, were the issues which would dominate the school board campaign in November, 1966? It was likely that at least some of the majority incumbents whose terms were to expire would run for re-election. Many observers thought that CBE, in spite of the overwhelming defeat which it had experienced in 1964, would again run a slate of candidates.

There were still intense feelings in the community because of the controversial zoning policies of the 1962 County Council. Private home owners had suffered because of the incursions of high-rise apartments, shopping centers, and commercial properties into residential areas. Conservationists were outraged by the zoning of high density developments into the "green belts" and by watersheds of abandoned master plans. Transient apartment dwellers did not pay property taxes, which were the sole local source of funding for the Jackson County schools, and imposed new burdens on the county's social services. It was rumored that individual land owners and developers had made immense profits, and that there had been instances of collusion between County Council members and real estate interests.

Major splits had again appeared in both the Democratic and Republican Parties in the county. A group in the Republican Party was opposed to the extreme rezoning policies of the County Council. They believed that to maintain leadership in the county, Republicans had to demonstrate a far greater degree of civic responsibility than the incumbents had exercised. It was anticipated that there would be two Republican slates for the County Council in the primary election. One would be composed of the incumbents and the other would consist of Republican candidates running on a much more moderate platform.

The split in the Democratic Party was even more intense, and reflected the traditional lines of division in county politics which went as far back as 1958. An active and aggressive liberal group, known as the Democratic Action Group (DAG), was seeking to control the precincts and to nominate liberal candidates for the County Council, as well as for other county and state offices. This group wanted to be known as a "good government" group that would develop progressive zoning and public service policies in the best interests of the county's residents. The conflict of interest issue was of particular concern to a man who had long dominated conservative Democratic politics in the county, and it is rumored that it was mainly through his efforts that the more conservative group, the Democrats for Responsible Government (DRG), was organized. The DRG charged that the DAG candidates were irresponsible and would develop costly programs that would greatly increase taxes in both the state and the county. Many people in the county felt that some of the leaders of the DRG had been involved in the County-Above-Party program in the 1962 election, which had represented a powerful coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans.

Some of the DAG leaders had been identified as "liberals" in former school board elections. At least one of the leaders had been a school board member at the time that Walters was appointed to the superintendency, and this particular leader was considered by many of the conservatives to be a "way-out liberal." Those who took a conservative position with regard to school affairs felt that the DAG group, were they to be elected to the County Council, would be a rubber stamp for almost all school board requests for expenditures.

An issue that was later to become basic to the state gubernatorial race was also very much in evidence in the county. Integration in the schools had been effected immediately after the 1954 Supreme

Court decision, when fewer than five per cent of the inhabitants of the county were Negroes. Many of the white residents of Jackson County had fled from the central city as its population became increasingly Negro, and now the percentage of Negroes attending the central city public schools was very high. Some Jackson County residents now feared that it was almost inevitable that Negroes who could afford to move out of the central city would seek to locate in suburban areas. Open housing had become a burning issue in the state as a whole as well as in individual suburbs. In addition, the guidelines for desegregation developed by the United States Office of Education could be interpreted as actually impelling the central city to transport Negro children to suburban area schools. If the development of proposed low cost housing in Jackson County were achieved, it would certainly be followed by a rapid influx of Negroes into the county. One strong candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination was already beginning to campaign on an anti-open housing platform.

Real estate groups were very much interested in this issue and very much opposed to open occupancy laws. It would have been relatively easy for a coalition to have been effected among the conservative economic dominants of the community on this particular issue. However, this issue could become only a peripheral concern in the school board campaign. It was certain that the attitudes of at least three of the majority were such that if they ran for re-election, they were definitely not inclined to make the integration issue a factor in their attempts at re-election. Thus the integration issue could not become vital in their campaign.

In view of the results of the 1964 election, those who were supporters of the Amidon program were not likely to reopen the question of extending it.

The school board had had some bitter differences with the County Council, and had taken the County Council to court over the issues of its interference with the legal policy-making functions of the school board. This was a technical fight although it had involved a good deal of public money, and was not likely to be a good issue in an election campaign. Among those who were active participants in school affairs, however, there was little disagreement on their opinion of the County Council. It would have been easy to characterize an individual who favored the County Council's stringent fiscal control over the schools as having an anti-education point of view.

Ultimately, the situation in the spring of 1966 was reduced to the point where, if the campaign was to involve controversy, it would have to focus on personalities. Educational issues since 1964 were fuzzy, with credits and debits on both sides.

Formation of a Nominating Convention

A new factor had been introduced into Jackson County's school board races when the school board primary law won by a very narrow margin in the 1964 election It now became necessary for a primary election to be held in September if more than two candidates filed for any school board position prior to July 5. Prior to the 1964 election, the CPS had established a committee of interested citizens who acted as a screening committee to endorse candidates for the school board. Now, preceding the 1966 election, there was considerable feeling in both the CPS and other groups within the county that a nominating convention would help to screen superior candidates for the school board and would guarantee that a group of candidates was selected who were greatly concerned about education and were qualified to guide the complex affairs of the school district.

There was strong support in one group in the CPS for the development of systematic procedures for holding a broadly democratic nominating convention. There was also some controversy within CPS about the desirability of such a convention. The fear was expressed that candidates whose attitudes toward education were not acceptable to CPS might emerge victorious from the convention. Those who held this point of view felt that CPS should nominate its own candidates independently.

In the midst of the debate over the convention, the leadership of the League of Women Voters decided that a convention would be desirable and that it would be a civic service for the League to become the catalyst through which the idea could be explored. If the convention could gain the support of other groups as well, a planning committee could be established to call and manage such a convention.

At the first meeting called by the League, representatives of some 13 organizations were present. It was well publicized that the meeting was entirely exploratory and that no group in attendance would be committed to the convention if the majority adopted the idea.

In addition to the League of Women Voters, such groups as the Jackson County Council of PTA's, the YWCA, the American Association of University Women, the Jackson County Teacher's Association, the Committee for the Public Schools, the Council for Better Education, the Allied Civic Group, and the Nonpartisan Taxpayers League were represented.

In the early attempt to form a committee to organize the nominating convention, disapproval of the plan was expressed only by the representatives of the Allied Civic Group and the Council for Better Education. Both groups expressed the opinion that the nominating convention was an attempt to circumvent the primary election, and that it might lead to possible control by the convention of future school board elections without giving the voters of the county adequate freedom of choice in the selection of their candidates. They nevertheless participated in initial convention planning.

In spite of these objections, a committee of three was selected to gather information about nominating conventions and to draft tentative by-laws. One person on the committee was from the AAUW, one was from the YWCA, and one was from the CPS. The committee was also responsible for securing an interim chairman for the convention committee.

After some difficulty in finding a suitable, neutral interim chairman, it was announced on April 17 that agreement had been reached and that an interim chairman had been selected. The date of the convention was set for June 3, and 25 representatives of civic, service, and business organizations met to form the convention interim committee and adopt the basic rules for the convention.

The by-laws of the convention, as adopted by the interim committee, stated that the purpose of the convention was "to provide a continuing mechanism for broad community participation in the identification and selection of qualified persons as candidates for the board of education." The by-laws provided that the convention consist of delegates who were registered voters in Jackson County and who were either the designated representative, the immediate past president, or past board member of any organization which met the following criteria:

(1) County-wide or broader than neighborhood in nature;

(2) Has been in existence for at least one year and has held a general membership meeting during the past twelve months;

(3) Is not affiliated with political parties or other groups whose main purpose is to elect candidates for partisan office;

(4) Is nonprofit;

(5) Is not primarily dedicated to a sectarian religious purpose;

(6) Is not affiliated with or closely related to other organizations which have already been selected for the current term as meeting the above qualifications.

The by-laws stated that each qualified organization could have two delegates at the convention. Any person was entitled to attend the convention, but only qualified delegates were given voting privileges.

The by-laws also provided that the interim committee, which would make arrangements for the convention, be composed of the immediate past president, a past board member, or designated representative of any organization which had testified at a school budget hearing called by the Board of Education during the past two years. They also provided that the interim committee could enlarge its membership and that no person could serve on the committee if he became a candidate for the Board of Education.

To receive the endorsement of the convention, a candidate had to receive a majority of the delegates' votes. In the event that no candidate received a majority on the first ballot, successive ballots would be cast.

Operating procedures provided that any person could nominate himself or that any person or group could nominate any other individual. All nominations had to be submitted to the interim committee between May 5 and 21. Preceding the convention, a committee would interview each of the candidates and give a factual report to the convention on all persons who were nominated. All nominations had to be accompanied by biographical information on the candidate, some indication of his educational viewpoints, and the candidate's own statement of his consent and eligibility.

Some 483 organizations were invited to send delegates to the convention. All of the incumbent school board members were invited to attend the convention as "honored guests of the convention," and the four whose terms were to expire in 1966 were invited to submit their names for nomination if they chose to do so.

All four of the incumbents whose terms were to expire declined to submit their names for nomination. It was rumored that two of them did not choose to run for re-election. One of the men, Robert Brown, subsequently announced that the board had been an interesting experience for him, but that it had interfered with his professional and family life to such an extent that he could not seek re-election. A second member, Kenneth Graham, indicated that he had been appointed to serve on a state educational committee, and expected to devote his available time to it rather than to the school board.

The other two members whose terms were to expire, William Grant and Raymond Crothers, declared their candidacy prior to the convention. Mr. Grant declined the chairman's invitation to submit his name as a candidate. Mr. Crothers, on the other hand, never withdrew his name, although it was apparent to the committee that he did not wish to submit it to the convention.

Mr. Grant stated that he had decided to run for the school board because he felt that he was better qualified than he had been in 1962. He had had an edifying experience on the board up to this time, and he thought his experience would be of value to the schools of the county. He said he had considered the invitation of the nominating convention, and he recognized that there was considerable power in the group. However, he felt that the convention would create a slate, and he did not want to be a part of a slate. He wanted to run exclusively on his record. He also felt that the convention would be dominated by the CPS, and he suggested that the CPS organization itself would become one of the primary issues of the campaign. He indicated that he had consulted with Mr. Crothers, and that they agreed on the matter.

Mr. Crothers said that for him the issue was whether there should be a slate nominated by a convention or whether individuals should run on their own merits. He said that when he received the invitation, he thought about it carefully, but the more he considered it, the more he realized that he was philosophically opposed to the technique.

For the press, Grant said:

> I don't want to run with the personal endorsement of any one group regardless of who they are. I choose to run on my own record rather than as a candidate of any group or individuals, but if the convention decided to endorse me, I would accept it. In an election you don't say who you'll accept—you're glad to get whichever vote you can.

He declined to attend the convention because he had a conflicting engagement.

Crothers said that since he was philosophically opposed to the convention he would not "willingly be an accomplice to anything the convention would elect to do." Crothers later said that he would have accepted the endorsement of the convention, but reluctantly. He indicated that both he and Grant had been approached by delegates who wanted to nominate them, but both had requested that they not be nominated since they felt they had more to lose than to gain from the endorsement.

Before the convention, active opposition to it was expressed by the Jackson County Allied Civic Group. Its leaders stated that the school board primary election [redacted] given a chance to work. The convention was also opposed publicly by CBE for the same reason, as well as an expressed fear that the convention would become too powerful and might very well be dominated by the liberals. The CPS, on the other hand, backed the convention. The vice-president of the CPS stated that the convention offered the best hope of easing the bitter polarization which had split the community apart in the previous two elections.

When the convention opened, the only official refusal to participate came from the Jackson County Allied Civic Group. Two Golden Age Clubs had been denied representation because the Committee felt they did not meet the qualifications which had been established. In the final count, 155 county organizations were represented. The CBE participated, and its president later explained that it had done so to provide some balance in the convention and to educate convention backers as to the effects that they were having. The CBE representative at the convention immediately challenged the idea of the convention. He stated that a small group had organized the convention specifically to defeat the purposes of the primary election, and to assure control by their group of future school board elections. He said that the convention endorsement would give an aura of respectability to the nominees, and with this kind of support it would be almost impossible for any other candidate to defeat them.

The convention went on to nominate four individuals from a field of nine, one for each of the two district positions and two for the at-large positions.

The Candidates

Robert Brentwood was chosen to run from the first district against incumbent Raymond Crothers. Brentwood was the manager of the research and development branch of a large scientific laboratory. He was a past president of a high school PTA and had served previously as a member of the school board selection committee for the Jackson County Council of PTA's. He had been an area vice-president and first vice-president of the County Council of PTA's. He was active in the Boy Scouts of America and the Lions Club, and had recently been president of the CPS. In his campaign statement he said that he supported increased opportunities for teacher education, higher professional salaries, improved special education and vocational programs, and development of the training necessary to meet the increasing need for local talent by industry and government agencies. He had an engineering degree, and he stated that he had always considered himself a conservative. (He later said that when he was branded as a liberal he looked up the term in the dictionary and decided that the dictionary definition appeared to suit him satisfactorily on most issues, but on financial matters he still considered himself to be fairly conservative.)

Running as the Convention's nominee in the third district was James Porter, a program analyst in a government agency. A scholarly man who expressed himself with great care, Porter had graduated with Phi Beta Kappa honors from a small liberal arts college nationally noted for its academic excellence. He had been a resident of the county for only four years, but had become very active in the PTA and the Allied Civic Federation. He felt that outstanding teachers were essential to maintain a quality program and that high salaries were one way of attracting competent teachers. In fact, he indicated that salaries needed to be high enough to enable teachers to live respectably in the high-cost-of-living Jackson County. He also felt that one criterion of a good school system was that it tried new ideas and moved ahead in areas where traditional practice was shown to be inadequate. Mr. Porter ran unopposed, so his election was assured from the beginning.

For the at-large positions, the convention nominated Mrs. Helda Corning and Peter Crothers, who was no relation to the other candidate, Raymond Crothers. Mrs. Corning had been active in the PTA and the League of Women Voters. She had been a Democratic precinct committee-woman and was the first vice-president of the Jackson County Council of PTA's at the time of her nomination. Her husband was a physician. She said that she regarded the restoration of a favorable educational climate, proper fiscal planning, economy, more equitable salary schedules, and development of adequate special education programs as areas of priority for the school system.

Peter Crothers was currently the vice-president of the CPS and its representative to the interim committee of the nominating convention. In this capacity he had helped draft the rules for the convention. He had been placed under considerable pressure to allow his name to be entered in the nominating convention. At first, he had resisted very strongly for fear that the convention would be labeled as "rigged" by CPS. However, he finally yielded to the pressure and accepted the nomination. He had been an administrative assistant to a high government official and was currently an employee of a large economic and social research organization. He had considerable experience both in government and in private business as a newspaper reporter and public relations expert. In his platform, he said that he would like to help establish a school board that was both "more responsive and more responsible." He hoped that the school board would seek the views of all citizens within the county and that it would demonstrate confidence in members of the professional staff by recognizing their responsible role in educational decision-making.

On the day the convention met, a third candidate also announced that he was independently seeking an at-large seat on the school board. He was Alfred Poole. Poole said that he did not seek nomination by the convention because he thought it was usurping some of the rights of the primary and possibly taking something away from the individual voter. He wanted to run as an independent candidate, not aligned with any educational organization or pressure group. He had been an employee of a private utility company for over 26 years and had lived most of that time in Jackson County. He was a sharp critic of the four majority members of the school board and said that he was running to put an end to their bungling of the past four years. He said that if he identified with anybody he would do so with the three incumbents who were re-elected in 1964. He said he felt there was a need for a school board which was receptive to the ideas of both the administrators and the citizens of Jackson County. The problems of the junior college were of special interest to him. He indicated that he had become concerned with school board affairs when the junior college, in which he was a part-time student, was under attack by the 1962 school board majority. He was particularly interested in seeing improved vocational education programs in the county.

Mr. William Grant, one of the two incumbents seeking re-election was currently serving as chairman of the school board. He advocated a school program which placed emphasis upon: fundamentals of education and the intellectual development of the child; high scholastic standards and improved testing methods to provide valid measures of quality education; continued support for special education; competitive salaries; site acquisitions with continued regard for construction costs; realistic use of federal aid programs; representation of all teachers in negotiations with the board; continued support for library, instructional materials, and textbook needs; sympathetic understanding for all children who required discipline for responsible growth, moral as well as scholastic; and judicious consideration of all school needs with priorities given to the child and his total school program. In his campaign material he indicated that he had initiated action which resulted in:

Elimination of the career recognition system which caused discontent among teachers.
Addition of longevity pay to the salary schedule.
Pay increases above superintendent's recommendation in both 1965-66, 1966-67.
A survey of extracurricular activities which resulted in the superintendent's recommendation for pay for work on non-duty days.
Tax-sheltered annuity program for teachers.
Resolution to stop students smoking in schools.
Resolution to control students driving cars to school.
Provision for stadium seating at secondary schools.
Basic studies program for the junior college.

He also said that he had recommended consideration of an increased school day or extension of the school year on a permissive basis, and a separate academic structure for the junior college with a special pay schedule and a separate board of trustees. He had voted against the professional negotiations agreement proposed in 1964 and 1965 because it contained illegal provisions which were identical to those cited by the attorney-general when he declared the board's agreement illegal. Grant indicated that while serving as board chairman, he had recognized all teacher representatives at board meetings and that he had made known his position in support of teacher recognition agreements which conformed to legal requirements.

Raymond Crothers, the other incumbent, said that if he were elected he would continue to initiate and sponsor:

Programs that build better rapport between the staff and the board of education;
Programs that will strengthen the teaching of the disciplines such as English, history, geography, mathematics, and science;

Programs that will see students who are not college-bound trained in skills that have community marketability;
Emphasis upon the continuing need to reduce the student-teacher ratio to insure a maximum learning climate;
Programs of building new schools in step with the rapidly growing population;
Programs for the junior college that will clearly identify this fine institution as a two year college, not merely as part of a K-14 concept;
Programs that will see our young people made aware of moral and ethical behavior; and
Programs that will insure a wholesome communication between the County Council and the Board of Education.

His campaign literature stated, "Slates belong in the little red school house, not on the school board!"

Reaction to the Convention

A few days following the convention, a conservative newspaper in the county headlined, "FOUR LIBERALS GRABBED 'RIGGED' ENDORSEMENT." The article stated that, as expected, the liberals had won the nominations of the first school board convention. It charged that the four nominees were all members of the CPS and indicated that the four incumbent school board members whose terms expired had boycotted the convention, charging that it was "rigged" to favor the liberals. In another article, labeled *Opinion*, the paper stated that some observers were convinced that "the cause of good education would be better served by a return to the appointive methods of choosing board members." It stated that since 1954 each election produced slates supported by well organized, well financed "parties," despite the statutory requirement that elections be non-partisan. It stated that again this year, the electorate would have a clear-cut choice between liberal and conservative candidates.

A week later, another newspaper editorialized concerning "the liberal threat." It said that the nomination of liberals for the county school board positions raised a clear and present danger that unless the majority of the citizens acted "there would be a return to the days of free spending on county education and unproven experimental programs." It charged that the inactive majority was threatened by an active and vocal minority which was well organized and bent on imposing its thinking on the rest of the county. The editorial charged that the CPS represented an ultra-liberal point of view. It stated:

> Moreover, two of the nominees are present or past officials of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In a sense the nominated slate could be part of an attempted Federal takeover of the local school system since many of the groups involved in their selection are dominated by Federal employees. It is not hard to imagine with the election of this slate the county's school children being subjected to every experimental "pilot" program dreamed up by the Federal Office of Education Bureaucrats.

The editorial also warned that the result of this takeover of the school board could be the doubling or even the quadrupling of county taxes for education. It said that although the spenders and the experimenters had been thrown out of office in 1962, they were now trying to return, "sneaking in through the back door of the nominating convention." It associated them with the DAG group in county politics.

The Primary Elections

Since not more than two candidates had filed for any position, the school board primary election was by-passed. (The text of the primary law required that any person elected to office would receive a majority of the votes cast for the position. Hence, the primary would be held only in the event that more than two candidates filed for a given position, and a run-off would then be held in the general election between the two with the largest number of votes in the primary.) By-passing the primary election allowed the school board candidates a respite while candidates for other offices were conducting campaigns for nomination. The school board and educational issues were almost totally neglected in this phase of the election process.

The results of the primary elections both in the state and in Jackson County were a complete surprise to everyone. The state gubernatorial campaign was dominated by the issue of open-housing, and 40 candidates ran for nomination to the seven Jackson County Council seats.

The anti-open housing Democratic candidate for governor won the primary nomination by a wide margin practically throughout the entire state, but the vote against him in Jackson County was overwhelming. In the Democratic primary, the DAG made a clean sweep of the nominations for County Council, and in the Republican primary, all but one of the incumbents were defeated and the slate which had run on a platform of greater moderation was nominated.

It is interesting to note that both parties had nominated and elected primary tickets of moderation and reform, indicating that the voters rejected the existing policies and personnel of the County Council. Obviously, the target of the conservatives in the county would have to be the DAG slate, since this group was the most reform-minded and the least amenable to the plans of the land and real estate interests. To complicate matters, soon after the primary election a slate of independent candidates filed for the County Council. Their purpose, according to their statement, was to remove the county from the partisanship and factionalism which divided both parties and which prevented either party from developing a program entirely within the public interest. Some politically knowledgeable citizens felt that the independent group would have most appeal for liberals, and by dividing the Democratic vote would be a definite asset to the Republicans in the general election.

Following the primary, the conservative press warned the voters against a "liberal take-over" and stated that the voters would now have a chance to combat a new power play by the liberals: "If the DAGers succeed, the likely result is a punitive increase in property taxes for the unwary electorate." One newspaper headlined: "HOW RADICAL DAGERS PLAN TO STAB TAXPAYERS—FORTY INCREASED COUNTY SPENDING PLANKS IN DAG PLATFORM COULD RAISE COUNTY TAX RATE 99 CENTS OR SOME 30 PER CENT IF PUT INTO EFFECT." A conservative commentator wrote, "Should you fail to vote, your county will deserve what DAG has in store for it!" It was apparent that the conservatives would again base their campaign on "high taxes and profligate spending," as they had in 1962.

The Campaign

But how could these issues apply to the school board race? In recent months, the incumbent majority had been no less concerned about adequate school financing than the minority members of the school board or the convention candidates. The majority had sponsored some liberal programs to which the minority in some instances reluctantly agreed, which increased salaries and fringe benefits beyond the superintendent's recommendations. They had fought, along with the minority, the budget cuts of the County Council, and the incumbents running for re-election had had a share in presenting reasonably adequate school budgets. In addition, county citizens were, seemingly, generally very satisfied with their schools. It was discovered in an independent survey by an able local citizen study group that 61 per cent of the citizens of Jackson County thought their schools were good, and another 25 per cent thought they were excellent. The remaining 14 per cent of the respondents represented the dissident element, to which a campaign formulated upon charges of gross inadequacies in the schools might advantageously be directed.

Late in September CPS leaders became aware of two factors which could affect the outcome of the election. First, many persons in the county were new residents who did not have intimate knowledge of the emotion-laden election of 1962. It was estimated that almost a quarter of the population had moved into Jackson County since 1962. This fact was interpreted to be of greater benefit to the incumbents than to the convention candidates. These people would have to be impelled to vote one way or the other on the basis of issues other than their remembrance of the CAP sheet and other factors that had brought the incumbents into office.

The second factor was that the lame duck County Council showed no inclination to modify its actions in the light of the voters' seeming repudiation of its position in the recent primary elections. Quite the contrary, Council members appeared determined to work overtime to finish the job they had started. Publicity about their actions, which was highly critical, could be used to greater advantage by the convention candidates than by the incumbents.

Mr. Poole's Campaign

Mr. Poole focused his campaign on charges of irresponsibility on the part of the incumbents and the necessity for a school board that would be responsive to the needs of the students and the wishes of the community. He obtained a campaign chairman and secretary immediately after announcing his candidacy. He gained some support from the Rotary Club to which he belonged, and, in all, he received $227 in contributions, of which $100 came from his own family. After the election he said that his campaign expenditures amounted to $350, and $123 had come out of his own pocket. He said that he did not make a general plea for campaign funds because he had only a very "little story to tell," and he wanted to do it in his own way. He did not want to be beholden to any particular group. His campaign expenditures were limited almost entirely to the purchase of leaflets which he distributed to audiences at rallies. He had possibly 50 people working for him, all friends, but he did not have any other organization which supported him.

The Incumbents' Campaign

Raymond Crothers was quite well known in the community and had had prior experience in an election campaign. After he declared his candidacy, a small, voluntary organization emerged. He said there were only five people who were actively involved in his campaign with him. They corresponded for him, put up signs, made small contributions, and also secured donations from a number of people. He said it wasn't a systematic organization at all, but just evolved on the basis of what he and a few of his friends, under the leadership of his able wife, were able to do. He said that one of his very close friends painted signs, made bumper stickers, and so forth. He estimated that he did not have more than 20 persons who were in any way carrying his banner for him. He said that some of the precinct workers, both Democratic and Republican, were contacted and had pledged to speak for him as they approached people in their neighborhoods. He said that his campaign cost about $400 and that $100 of this was donated by the CBE, which, on its own, spent another $50 in his behalf.

William Grant said that he had no campaign organization at all. He reported that he depended upon a few individuals and the assistance of some of the candidates for state and county offices who had organizations and could support his candidacy. He said that about 18,000 leaflets were distributed in his behalf. His total expenditures for the campaign amounted to $1,020, all contributed by individuals and the CBE. The money was spent on posters, leaflets, and radio and TV releases. The CBE on its own sponsored a newspaper advertisement in behalf of him and Raymond Crothers, but this was the only advertising in their favor.

Although Grant claimed he was not directly involved in its formation, there was an organization formed in the early part of the campaign specifically to support him for the school board position. This organization was known as Education Associates. According to newspaper stories, it was formed to participate in the current school board election. The newspaper indicated that it had neither officers nor bylaws, but that its spokesman appeared to be Grant. All he would say about it was that it was formed by a group as a result of the election. The organization endorsed both Grant and Raymond Crothers. Some of the individuals who were active in it told the newspaper reporter that "the group feels that education needs to be progressive but should retain basic ideas inherent in education, not going into all the newfangled fads." One of the participants said, "We have been thinking about the need for such a group for a couple of years." He indicated that the organization would work at the precinct level distributing leaflets for both Grant and Raymond Crothers, and might also conduct other political activities. It sponsored a few rallies, but the largest reported attendance at any rally was 150 people.

Both Grant and Raymond Crothers had decided to run on their records and to emphasize the progress made in the schools during their four years in office. Neither felt that there were any critical issues facing the schools which should be involved in the campaign, and they believed the voters should be given a chance to choose fairly on the basis of honest reporting of the record of the last few years.

The Campaign of the Convention Candidates

In contrast to the incumbents' efforts, the convention candidates had a politically seasoned organization to work in their behalf. The forces of the CPS were again mobilized toward the development of the type of campaign that had been successful in the 1964 election. Basically, the same people were involved in the CPS leadership, and they were able to refine some of their strategies on the basis of their experience in 1964. They were also aware of the changes that had taken place in the community and the problems that new residents posed. Consequently, they were able to adjust their strategies to these new conditions.

One of the major differences between the 1964 and the 1966 candidates supported by CPS was that the former had been incumbents and very knowledgeable about the internal operations of the schools. Although all of the four convention candidates were active in school and community affairs, they did not have intimate knowledge of how the various facets of school organization actually operated. There was some fear that if the candidates were questioned about internal operations, the 1966 incumbents would be more knowledgeable than the convention candidates.

Fortunately for the convention candidates, they selected as an advisor a very able woman, Dr. Mary Duvall, who had been in charge of the research committee for the 1964 school board campaign. She helped them formulate strategy and develop research materials. After some discussions between her and Peter Crothers, it was decided that during the primary campaign, in which the school board candidates would not be actively involved, the convention nominees could profitably spend their time in a series of orientation sessions with school personnel to gain understanding of the problems, programs, and plans of the school district. Dr. Duvall arranged lengthy sessions with key school administrators, civic leaders in education, and the incumbent members of the minority group so that the convention candidates could acquire needed perspectives. Occupational duties prevented some of the convention candidates from attending all of these sessions, but the candidates and their advisor met frequently to share their impressions and experiences.

The convention candidates soon realized that running as a team was more complex than running as individual candidates. The members of the team could get in one another's way, and they could hurt one another if their positions on issues were not coordinated. To minimize this problem, a series of meetings was held to identify a mutually acceptable common approach to various questions which might be posed to the candidates at rallies.

The convention candidates and their advisors were aware that a very small audience was likely to be contacted through the rallies. Press coverage of the rallies was likely, however. It was also observed that audiences could not handle a mass of detail, and that the incumbent candidates were sticking advantageously to a few "sonorous generalities." The convention candidates decided to emphasize five basic themes which they would try to introduce in all presentations in one way or another and in response to all questions. These themes were:

> The final criterion is whether it is *good for children.*
>
> We are for *wise expenditures* of public funds.
>
> We are for *real community involvement in education.* Our opponent school board members and County Council alike have opposed community involvement and rejected community participation and debate.
>
> We have an opportunity to finish what we started in 1964 with an effective majority, harmonious intra-board and board-staff relations, and a determination to grow with the county and its needs.
>
> Education strengthens democracy from which we all derive our strength.

Sessions were held in which the candidates practiced responding to sample questions that might arise, in order to assist each candidate to improve his responses.

During the time the candidates were becoming oriented, their campaign committee was busy developing the precinct organization which would be responsible for delivering a favorable vote. The campaign organization was headed by two experienced chairmen who worked with six district coordinators, who, in turn, had 24 area coordinators to direct the activities of the precinct workers. Initially, it was felt that to be successful, the campaign needed about 1,300 precinct workers. In the final count, the number was, as in 1964, close to 3,000.

A problem arose early in the orientation of precinct workers. Materials had been presented to them which were primarily oriented toward an attack on the record of the incumbents. But as precinct workers began their initial rounds the question immediately arose, "What are our candidates *for*?" It had been felt that the main thrust of the campaign had to be directed toward bringing out a protest vote. A careful review of the research on school elections reinforced this point, and an analysis of public relations problems by a local study group confirmed that it was on protest votes that the largest turnout of electors could be expected. However, there was little "protest" now about schools in the county, and it was also felt that there were voters who could not be motivated to vote solely on a protest basis. Accordingly, a platform statement was developed by the candidates and distributed to precinct workers and the press. The statement, endorsed by all four candidates, advocated the following:

Encouragement of a climate of respect and accessibility between the board, staff, and community.

Broad community involvement in the concerns of education.

Closer liaison between the school board, the County Council, and other planning agencies.

Improvement of programs for technically and vocationally oriented students.

Orderly expansion of the junior college.

Increasing attention to children who are not learning well in the regular school program.

More intensive and consistent support for teachers to update their knowledge and skills.

Professional pay scales which provide different rewards for different levels of responsibility.

A policy of wise expenditures for maximum values.

Each candidate prepared his own speeches, but frequently discussed them with Dr. Duvall, who checked them for accuracy and prejudicial emotional overtones. Leaflets were also distributed, whose content and design were determined primarily by the candidates themselves.

Approaching the Election

In the early days of the campaign, two critical issues arose that could have resulted in controversy in the election, but did not. First, it was discovered that the County Council was going to present two Charter Amendments to the voters which would change the date for authorization of the school district budget and would establish a moratorium period during which supplemental appropriations could not be requested by the school board. When the board and the administrative staff analyzed the implications of these amendments, which had been proposed without consulting the board, it became apparent that both amendments could seriously hamper the operation of the schools. The board unanimously adopted a resolution criticizing the County Council for its actions and urging the citizens of the community to reject both amendments.

The chairman of the County Council, who had presumably sponsored the amendments, criticized the board for not reacting earlier to the amendments. In fact, the proposed amendments had never been communicated by the Council to the board. The County Council of PTA's, the League of Women Voters, and the CBE, at various times, supported the board's position and urged defeat of the Charter Amendments. All of the seven school board candidates agreed with the board's position and announced their opposition to the amendments. Even the seven Democratic Party candidates for the County Council informed the school board that they agreed with its position and urged the defeat of the Charter Amendments. They also indicated that they had taken a public position on the right of the school board to establish school policy without Council interference. This was as close as the school issue came to being interjected into the general election campaigns.

The second issue involved the representation of all teachers' groups in negotiations with the school board. In July, the State Board of Education had adopted a by-law which permitted a school board either formally or informally to recognize teachers' groups for consultation on matters pertaining to personnel policies and conditions of work. Formal recognition could be accorded to an organization which represented more than half of the professional employees of the district, and informal recognition could be given to organizations whose membership comprised less than half of the employees.

In the months before the election campaign, a chapter of the AFT (American Federation of Teachers) was formally organized in the

Jackson County Schools. It was formed primarily by a dissident group in the Classroom Teachers Association (CTA) which believed the JCTA was dominated by administrators and did not give teachers an effective voice in policy-making. At the time the AFT was organized, it was rumored that CTA was gradually going out of existence and that its program and membership would likely be picked up by the AFT. Many people thought that in the midst of the election activity, the AFT might develop an aggressive campaign for recognition, even though it represented less than ten per cent of the teachers in the district. It was also believed that the AFT and CTA might endorse the incumbent candidates because of the positions they had taken on the extension of the salary scale beyond the recommendations of the superintendent.

Mr. Grant, the chairman of the board, who had strong support both from CTA and AFT members, called upon each teacher organization to discuss its perspectives on issues pertaining to personnel policies and conditions of work even before formal board recognition was given. Grant's action, which won him respect among the educational staff, also kept the issues of recognition and personnel policies from becoming significant in the campaign itself.

There was considerable concern lest the supporters of the old CAP sheet again attempt to affect the outcome of the election with a last minute scare campaign. It was expected that they would endorse the incumbents if such an attempt were made.

A rumor suddenly began circulating that the United States Office of Education and the National Urban League had developed a plan for turning one of the communities in the county into a model integrated city, and that the two former employees of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare who were convention candidates for the school board had helped to initiate the plan and consummate the deal. The rumor was apparently started by individuals who were opposed to open housing regulations and who sought to capitalize upon the fears of some residents of extensive Negro migration into Jackson County from the central city.

There was also a note in one of the small, weekly, conservative newspapers indicating that a CAP-type publication had already been prepared, and that it was based upon a clever approach which was sure to carry the election in favor of its candidates. There was much speculation that if the CAP sheet were used, it would concentrate on the issues of open housing and potential busing of Negro students into Jackson County.

Immediately the liberal press started to warn the population of the impending action and its implications for the county. The local weekly newspaper favorably disposed toward the convention candidates and the DAG carried articles which analyzed the potential effect of a CAP sheet, the technique that might be used, and the charges it would make. It identified by name landowners and real estate developers who, it felt, had been instrumental in the development of the old CAP sheet. It also identified the news media which these CAP leaders could use in an aggressive campaign.

The Democratic Party, now dominated by its DAG candidates, immediately published a flyer crying, "DON'T LET IT HAPPEN AGAIN!" They referred to the desperate last minute "Republican" smear sheet that had carried the election in 1962. They published the 1962-63 headlines of the newspapers which covered this period, emphasizing the manner in which the school district budgets had been cut and the County Council had changed the rezoning policies.

A modified version of such a sheet did appear as an advertisement in a metropolitan daily newspaper two days before the election. It was published by the "Committee to Protect Property Owners Rights," which had been organized mainly on the open housing issue. The advertisement was headed "Property Owners' Slate," and it stated that:

> The Committee to Protect Property Owners Rights recommends these candidates to the voters as the best available choices to protect Jackson County from the following serious threats: the threat to our property rights, the threat to our integrity, the threat of 'metro' type government, the threat of takeover by ADA-backed candidates, the threat of governmental control over our school system, the threat of our tax burden from DAG schemes and from open housing legislation.

The advertisement then reproduced a facsimile of the voting machine keys, endorsing the Democratic candidate for governor who was an arch opponent of open housing, his running mates, and most of the Republican candidates for the state legislature and the Jackson County Council. Three of the nonpartisan candidates for the County Council were recommended along with four of the more conservative Republicans. For the school board, the advertisement advocated the election of the two incumbents, but did not make recommendations for the other two positions. There was still some expectation that a CAP-type sheet might be produced the final day, but it never materialized.

The CBE entered the campaign in support of the incumbents, but it did not seem to have much force behind it. The president of CBE said the organization supported the incumbents because they represented a force for "moderation and preventing one-way government." He said the alternative would be an "all liberal school board, with strong control by a small faction of liberals, namely the CPS." He pointed out that with Porter's uncontested election assured, the liberals were certain to have a majority on the board anyway and a check against their complete domination was desirable.

In the face-to-face campaigning, the candidates assumed predictable positions. The convention candidates attacked the incumbents on the basis of their record immediately following their election in 1962, and charged them with responsibility for some of the negative actions of the County Council.

The incumbents, on the other hand, stood on their record and attempted to draw attention to its positive aspects, particularly since 1964. The independent candidate, Poole, concentrated his attack upon Mr. Grant, and as the campaign progressed, he became increasingly friendly toward the convention candidates, calling them "my admirable opponents." To audiences he indicated his main concern was for a responsible and a responsive school board (a key theme of the convention candidates), and suggested that he or the convention candidates would give the community that type of a school board.

The incumbents felt that they had been unfairly treated at the rallies. They claimed, for instance, that the policies governing the allotment of time to each candidate for his presentation and rebuttal resulted in the convention candidates receiving a total of twice as much time as the incumbents. Since Poole also attacked the incumbents, when each candidate had ten minutes to speak there were only twenty minutes for the incumbents but fifty minutes for their opponents. Because the convention candidates were well organized, each one could concentrate on a different theme in the time that was allocated to him, and the incumbents did not have the time to respond to each of the charges of criticisms.

Obviously, personalities were involved at times and neither side felt it could entirely eliminate personal charges, although, considering the intensity of feelings on either side, invective was kept fairly well under control. Animosity appeared to be very strong between Poole and Grant.

Basically, vital issues never entered the school board campaign, and neither the community nor the press generated a great deal of interest in it. The central focus was upon the County Council election and its implications. The issue of open housing, and the attention the gubernatorial race centered upon it, were of key concern to both the news media and the public.

This general apathy seemed to spur the efforts of the CPS campaign organization rather than diminish them. One of the leaders in the organization pointed out that 35,000 people had voted for the conservative school board candidates in 1962 and again in 1964. He estimated that conservative candidates for the school board in Jackson County could therefore depend upon 35,000 votes, and that in order to win the election convincingly the precinct organization had to bring out at least 70,000 voters.

The Outcome of the Election

The convention candidates won easily although not by the margin they had wished. In the first district, Brentwood received 47,000 votes, while incumbent R. Crothers received 35,000. In the third district, Porter, who was unopposed, received 58,000 votes. In the at-large voting, convention candidate P. Crothers led the ticket with 53,000 votes, followed by Corning with 52,000, while Poole and Grant each received 25,000. The Charter Amendment to delay the budget appropriation until June 15 was defeated by a vote of 66,000 to 13,000. The other Charter Amendment to delay the board's request for supplemental appropriations until after January 1 passed by the narrower margin of 42,000 to 35,000 votes. In the race for the County Council, four Republicans and three DAG Democrats were elected. Conservatives and liberals with tendencies toward moderation were both represented on the Council, which seemed to some observers to be "well balanced."

In the aftermath of the school board election, the victorious convention candidates recognized that they had a responsibility to fulfill the community's expectations of them in the governance of the public schools. They felt that they now had an opportunity to assist the school administrators in charting the path of the school district toward increasing excellence in the education of Jackson County's children. Now, however, some fundamental differences in perspective among the newly elected members began to emerge, in attitudes toward fiscal conservatism, traditional policies in education, experimentation, etc. The board members-elect had fully expected these differences to emerge, but they also anticipated that these differences, as well as those they might develop with the three incumbents, would now be resolved through rational debate, with the technical assistance of the administrative staff, and with the hoped-for participation of large numbers of citizens who would be called upon to advise the board both formally and informally.

The defeated incumbents felt that the community had let them down. They felt that they had been overwhelmed by a massive machine which had steam-rollered the election and which had not always used "fair" tactics. Both candidates stated that so much of their attention had been devoted to education during the past four years and it had become such an important part of their lives that they would not now be poor losers. They would, instead, continue to lend their support to what they considered to be wise policies for the school district and in the best interests of education, and that they would be critical of policies which they did not believe inherently good. Both indicated that they might have further political ambitions.

Chapter 5

The Politics of Education

Some Reflections

> ***There are many who utter pious ideals about the sanctity of education and its being above politics. But various versions of the Jackson County Story are being experienced all over the land. Education is involved in Politics.***

The government of the Jackson County schools, at least at the level of school board policy-making, was certain to change after the 1966 election. Certainly the history of community-school relationships affects the nature of continuing politics of education. Conflicts and coalitions of the past shape the way individuals and groups relate to one another in the future and have an important bearing upon the nature and processes of educational decision-making.

Politics have variously been defined as the art of governance, or more recently, as the techniques of obtaining and using power in the management of human affairs. There are many who utter pious ideals about the sanctity of education and its being above politics. But various versions of the Jackson County Story are being experienced all over the land. Education is involved in Politics. Educational decisions which impose taxes upon the community, affect living patterns of the people, pertain to the normative structures of the community, and affect the ability of individuals to realize their aspirations through the education of their children, are certainly political decisions.

Where communities have become increasingly heterogeneous in their demographic characteristics, they reflect diverse value structures. As school officials make decisions and develop programs which affect the values and aspirations of different groups, community con-

flict over education is almost inevitable. This seems to be particularly true in communities where more than one group is alternatively able to gain power and where more than one group is impelled to effect its will upon the schools by obtaining control over the instruments of government.

For more than a decade various groups within Jackson County attempted to exercise control over the public schools as well as over the County Council. Their motivations for desiring political control were diverse. Certainly, some were motivated by economic considerations, some by political ideals or ambitions, and others by concern for the educational well-being of their children. Be that as it may, within the structure of decision-making and school-community relationships the means by which any group could hope to accomplish its ends were limited largely to those requiring involvement in politics and engaging in political conflict in order to obtain control over the agencies in which policy-making occurs.

A key concern of many observers of the situation in Jackson County was what happened to the CAP organization. Perhaps in 1962 the backers of the CAP were not very much interested in controlling the schools. Involvement in the school board election may have been a subsidiary and expedient matter raised by a small group within the organization that wished to make a sweep of all of the county positions. Perhaps educational concerns were not of great significance to the CAP in either the 1964 or the 1966 elections, since they had already accomplished practically all of their land use and zoning objectives through the change in County Council policies after the 1962 elections. Perhaps, too, as one politician suggested, CAP leaders had come to recognize that good schools were important to the further economic development of the county. Their recognition of the economic consequences of the educational program was to some degree affected by a study, reportedly distributed among them, which emphasized that the kinds of industry they were hoping would locate in Jackson County considered education one of the key factors influencing a decision to invest in a community. The scientific and technical personnel necessary to these industries would not move into a locality which did not offer high quality education for their children. Some of the liberals said that the real estate group now recognized that they could not accomplish some of their economic objectives if they held the schools to a minimal, restricted program.

Perhaps, too, the CAP supporters believed they could not win the votes of an electorate already mobilized by an effective political organization, such as CPS. Consequently, there was no reason to invest money in an attempt to do so. If they were truly the realists they claimed to be, the members of this group were certainly aware of the fact that all of the candidates for the school board were moderates rather than starry-eyed idealists. Regardless of who was elected, the board would have the balance required to maintain stability and a reasoned approach to the development of educational policies. The power group which had engineered the CAP sheet in 1962 really didn't have any vital stake in the school board election in either 1964 or 1966.

There are several conclusions that may be drawn from this study which seem to be supported by other research findings. First, it appears that educational issues are usually not of vital concern to lay citizens unless they are tied to larger community issues. Throughout the 1960's the great issues in Jackson County were those of land-use policies and the effects of property taxes upon the individual home owner. In the 1962 election, citizens who entered the arena of community politics were motivated less by a desire to effect change in school policies than by their concern for these two larger issues; educational considerations were subordinate to and dependent upon these two larger factors. Many of those who had the economic means and the political sophistication necessary to mount successful political campaigns in support of candidates who shared their views on these two issues were not sufficiently motivated by isolated educational concerns to become involved in the '64 or '66 elections.

Public response to the educational issues involved in the elections of 1962, 1964, and 1966 is an interesting topic for analysis. While many persons in 1962 believed the existing educational program was of high quality, others claimed it was not on the grounds that fundamentals were being neglected and too much effort was being diverted to frills and experimentation. This accusation undoubtedly affected the outcome of the 1962 election. In 1964, on the other hand, the incumbents seeking re-election were certainly aided by charges that the educational program had been wrecked by excessive budgetary cutbacks and restrictions. Neither in 1962 nor in 1964 did the public have strong objective evidence to support the assertions about educational quality made by either the liberals or the conservatives.

Education is a highly complex undertaking. To understand an educational program well enough to evaluate it in terms of specific criteria requires interest and effort to an extent not demonstrated by the vast majority of citizens in Jackson County or elsewhere. Under such circumstances, vital decisions are made by the electorate on other grounds. In Jackson County, the taxation issue provided a substitute basis upon which decisions relevant to education could be made by the voters in 1962. By 1964, the "abuses" related to zoning provided a rationale for re-electing the incumbent school board members, who were allied with forces representing views opposed to those of the County Council and, by imputation, those of the majority members of the school board. The same issue also had an impact in 1966; the two majority members of the school board who sought re-election were never able to disassociate themselves from the actions of the County Council following the 1962 election.

Under the circumstances that prevailed, campaigns were conducted in heated, emotionally charged atmospheres that did little to illuminate actual educational conditions in the county. It *was* possible, however, for political forces to use the schools as a scapegoat issue, as the CAP supporters did in 1962 and their opponents did in reverse in the next two elections.

Research on the politics of education reveals that only under unusual circumstances do top leaders in the power structure of a community get deeply involved in the issues of public education. When they do so, their involvement is typically based upon important economic considerations. Such considerations were present in Jackson County in 1962, with matters pertaining to land use and taxation at stake. In later years, these matters were less crucial. Perhaps these facts help account for the different outcomes of the elections. It is also unusual for public interest in educational issues to remain at a high peak for as long a period as it did in Jackson County. Ordinarily, public interest in educational issues is low, and it waxes and wanes over a period of days or weeks. That education remained a matter of concern in Jackson County is attributable at least in part to the high educational level of county residents, and concomitantly to the unusual attention given to the schools by well organized citizen groups.

Some individuals and groups *were* both intensely concerned about the nature of educational policies and willing to exert effort and expend resources to establish the kinds of policies which they considered appropriate. Both CPS and CBE membership included such people, but both groups also included activists who were interested in broader social and political issues.

Political power is not always held solely by groups with economic power or non-governmental control of sanctions over others. Political power can be gained by a group which is able to mobilize other individuals to support common interests and concerns. The CPS clearly demonstrated that, through its recognition of public concern for education and its knowledge of how to mobilize public sentiment, it could achieve influence with respect to education. One might hypothesize from this experience, as well as from other research, that political power in a growing heterogeneous community is a variable of political action. In Jackson County political action was generated by a group of citizens who, under relatively unusual circumstances, were able to maintain momentum in a sustained drive to gain control of policy-making bodies.

Two factors contributed significantly to the success of this drive. First, the CPS leadership had the necessary political acuity to maintain the commitment of the total group. Second, this political acuity was gained from a previous traumatic experience which enabled the political force to maintain a high degree of interest, enthusiasm, and depth of feeling for a long period of time. The CPS leaders were political realists who selected their campaign techniques on the basis of well-defined local educational issues in addition to well-conceived strategies for obtaining votes.

In 1962, CAP took advantage of local conditions and traditional American political themes to win the election. It ignited discontent which was smoldering within the county because of frustrations aroused by all sorts of community problems and dislocations. Playing upon the themes of profligate spending and excessive taxation, CAP was able to enlist popular support for the well-known American political game of "throwing the rascals out." In 1964 the opponents of CPS fought ideological battles not likely to attract political support.

In both 1964 and 1966 the CPS was able to arouse sentiment on the issue of abusive use of governmental power while concurrently playing on parental fears that the school program was not sufficiently high in quality to enable their children to be admitted to prestigious colleges and universities. In 1964 CPS skillfully acted out the western drama of the "good guys" and the "bad guys" to demonstrate which incumbents were the rascals. In 1966 the "bad guys" were the County Council

Fear and frustration are clearly political weapons to use in mobilizing public sentiment. Any positive aspects of the political campaigns in Jackson County were clearly subordinated to the fear motifs.

Evidence concerning the role of educators in the campaigns is not consistent. Walters was a key factor in 1962, and would probably have been again in 1964 had he not resigned a few months prior to the election. His successor preferred to maintain a non-partisan attitude, which enabled him to concentrate upon the educational problems of the schools and achieve, in most educational issues, support from both factions. Community conflict was self-generating, and the superintendent's interference might actually have proven detrimental, regardless of which side in the controversy he might have supported.

It is probably also true that because he remained uncommitted in the political arena, the superintendent was able to achieve more stability in and control over the internal organization than would otherwise have been the case. It can be argued that in reality the fight was over political control, not educational policy. By withholding himself from the political conflict, the superintendent's control of educational policy was enhanced.

Many writers have suggested that education is immeasurably damaged by political controversy affecting the schools. It would be difficult to pinpoint the ways in which educational progress in Jackson County was "immeasurably damaged." The most certain thing that can be said is that progress *was* delayed for a short period of time. When the conflict began in 1962, it dealt with educational issues. Walters, to protect the educational program he had helped to build, felt that he had to become involved. His response to the demand by the majority of the school board that he suggest drastic budget cuts was evidence of deep political involvement and a partisanship which helped dramatically to mobilize public sentiment in support of educational policies broader than those to which the majority was committed.

The situation was much different when Rodman was superintendent. The political issues were more subtle, and the superintendent's role had to be different. Already, changes had occurred in the public's attitude toward the majority members who now seemed to recognize that they had gone too far to be able to maintain public support. Rodman decided that the time was appropriate to let the contending community forces battle out their differences primarily on issues which involved administrative and governmental controls rather than instructional policies. Since the majority board members had to establish a constructive record after the 1964 election if they were to present any sort of contest to CPS candidates in 1966, they could not remain carping critics of the superintendent's policies or efforts to build a stronger educational program. To a considerable extent, Rodman's perspective recognized the political factors involved, and he was able to use the broad support given by CPS, the minority members of the school board, the JCTA, and a vast segment of the population unobtrusively but effectively to recoup what had been cut out by the school board and County Council after 1962. It is true that Jackson County educators were forced to take a step backward, to re-think their programs, to evaluate their use of limited resources, and to differentiate between priorities and matters of lesser concern. Perhaps both they and the schools were better off for their examination of what was being done. Surely, the community demonstrated that when the chips were down, a leadership could emerge which would mobilize the public to vote for what it believed to be a sound educational program.

Epilogue

The Jackson County School Board elections in the 1960's taught one certain lesson. Even the casual observer could see that the Jackson County schools were deeply embedded in the politics of the community and were likely to remain so.

Politics still simmered in Jackson County late in 1966 as the lame duck County Council embarked on what was described as "an orgy" of last minute rezoning changes to complete the job it had started. One newspaper charged that it had gone on "a rampage of last minute marathon sessions," of "wrecking operations" described as the "epitome of lame duck government in action designed in a wild flutter to thwart the public will in the few days of power that remained to them. The County Council remained true to its backers."

When the new school board first met in December, Dr. Hopper was unanimously elected chairman. He took over the gavel and said, "Now that the search for frills is forgotten, we shall again look forward to progress." Time would reveal what new conflicts would arise.

The Study

The involvement of education in politics is chronicled and analyzed in this case study of a large suburban school district. A sequel to THE JACKSON COUNTY STORY (1964), the report covers a four-year period in which two school board elections are held in Jackson County. Both studies were supported, in part, by the Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon, a national research and development center established in 1964 by the U. S. Office of Education.

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Jackson County
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